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S I G L A

AA	Anaphorae Armeniacae (Roma 2001 ss.)
AASS	Acta Sanctorum (Antverpiae et alibi 1643 ss.)
AB	Analecta Bollandiana
ACO	Eduardus Schwartz, <i>Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum</i> (Berolini 1914 ss.)
AfO	Archiv für Orientforschung
AO	Anaphorae Orientales (Roma 2001 ss.)
AOC	Archives de l'Orient Chrétien
AS	Anaphorae Syriacae (Roma 1939 ss.)
BBGG	Bollettino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata
BHG	François Halkin, <i>Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca</i> (Bruxelles 1957 ³)
BHO	Paul Peeters, <i>Bibliotheca Hagiographica Orientalis</i> (Bruxelles 1910)
BiO	Bibliotheca Orientalis (Leiden 1943/44 ss.)
BO	Josephus Simonius Assemanus, <i>Bibliotheca Orientalis Clementino-Vaticana</i> (Romae 1719, 1721, 1725, 1728) (repr. Hildesheim 1975)
Brightman	Frank Edward Brightman, <i>Liturgies Eastern and Western, I: Eastern Liturgies</i> (Oxford 1896)
BSAC	Bulletin de la Société d'Archéologie Copte
BV	Bogoslovskij Vestnik
Byz	Byzantion
BZ	Byzantinische Zeitschrift
CCEO	Codex Canonum Ecclesiarum Orientalium (Città del Vaticano 1990) (fontium annotatione auctus, 1995)
CCG	Corpus Christianorum, Series Graeca (Turnhout 1971 ss.)
CCL	Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina (Turnhout 1953 ss.)
CerVed	Cerkovnye Vedomosti
ChrČt	Christianskoe Čtenie
CICO	Codex Iuris Canonici Orientalis (Città del Vaticano 1957-1958)
COD	Conciliorum Oecumenicorum Decreta (Bologna 1973 ³)
ConcFI	Concilium Florentinum. Documenta et Scriptores voll. I-XI (Roma 1940-1976)
CPG	Mauritius Geerard et alii, <i>Clavis Patrum Graecorum</i> (Turnhout 1974 ss.)
CSCO	Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium (Louvain 1903 ss.)
CSEL	Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum (Wien 1866 ss.)
CSHB	Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae (Bonn 1828-1897)
ČtOIDR	Čtenija v Imperatorskom Obščestve Istorii Drevnostej Rossii
DACL	Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie
DDC	Dictionnaire de Droit Canonique
Denzinger, RO	Henricus Denzinger, <i>Ritus Orientalium</i> . . . I-II (Würzburg 1863-1864)
DHGE	Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie Ecclésiastiques (Paris 1912 ss.)
Dmitrievskij	Aleksej A. Dmitrievskij, <i>Opisanie Liturgičeskich rukopisej chranjaščichsja v bibliotekach pravoslavnago vostoka</i> , I-II (Kiev 1895, 1901) III (Petrograd 1917, repr. Hildesheim 1965)
DOP	Dumbarton Oaks Papers
DSp	Dictionnaire de Spiritualité
DTC	Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique
Dz	Henricus Denzinger et Adolphus Schönmetzer, <i>Enchiridion ... symbolorum</i> (Freiburg im Br. 1965 ³³)
EL	Ephemerides liturgicae
EO	Échos d'Orient
FCCO	Fonti. Codificazione Canonica Orientale (Roma 1930 ss.)
Funk I-II	F. X. Funk, <i>Didascalia et Constitutiones Apostolorum</i> I-II (Paderborn 1905)
GAL	Carl Brockelmann, <i>Geschichte der arabischen Literatur</i> (Weimar 1898) II (Leiden 1912)
GAL2 I-II	<i>Idem</i> I-II (Leiden, 1943-1949)
GALS I-III	<i>Idem</i> , Supplementbände I-III (Leiden 1937, 1938, 1942)
GAS	Fuat Sezgin, <i>Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums</i> (Leiden 1968 ss.)
GCAL	Georg Graf, <i>Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur</i> , ST 118, 133, 146, 172 (Città del Vaticano 1944, 1947, 1949, 1951, 1953)
GCS / GCSNF	Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller (Berlin 1897 ss.) / neue Folge (1995 ss.)
Goar	Jacobus Goar, <i>Euchologion sive Rituale graecorum</i> (Venezia 1730 ² repr. Graz 1960)

GSL	Anton Baumstark, <i>Geschichte der syrischen Literatur</i> (Bonn 1922)
HOr	Handbuch der Orientalistik (Leiden – Köln 1952 ss.)
Irén	Irénikon
JAC	Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum
JÖB	Jahrbuch der Byzantinischen Gesellschaft (Wien 1951-68); deinde Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik (Wien 1969 ss.)
JTS	The Journal of Theological Studies
LMD	La Maison-Dieu
LOC	Eusèbe Renaudot, <i>Liturgiarum Orientalium Collectio</i> , 2 vol. (Francofurti 1847 ²)
LQF	Liturgiegeschichtliche Quellen und Forschungen, deinde Liturgiewissenschaftliche Q. u. F. (1957 ss.)
LTK ¹⁻²⁻³	Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche (1930, 1957, 1993)
Mansi	Johannes Dominicus Mansi, <i>Sacrorum Conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio</i> (1759 ss.)
MGH	Monumenta Germaniae Historica inde ab anno 500 usque ad annum 1500 (Hannover 1826 ss.)
Metzger I-III	Marcel Metzger, <i>Les Constitutions Apostoliques</i> , SC 320, 329, 336 (Paris 1985, 1986, 1987)
Mus	Le Muséon
MUSJ	Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph (Beyrouth)
OC	Oriens Christianus
OCA	Orientalia Christiana Analecta
OCh	Orientalia Christiana
OCP	Orientalia Christiana Periodica
ODB	The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium (New York / Oxford 1991)
OKS	Ostkirchliche Studien
OLP	Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica
OLZ	Orientalische Literaturzeitung
OS	L'Orient Syrien
PalSb	Palestinskij Sbornik
Pauly-Wissowa	Paulys Realenzyklopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft
PG	Jacobus Paulus Migne, <i>Patrologia Graeca</i> (Paris 1857-1866)
PL	Jacobus Paulus Migne, <i>Patrologia Latina</i> (Paris 1841-1864)
PO	Patrologia Orientalis (Paris 1903 ss.)
POC	Proche-Orient Chrétien
PravEn	Pravoslavnaja Enciklopedija (Moskva 2000 ss.)
PS	Patrologia Syriaca, I-III (Paris 1897, 1907, 1927)
RAC	Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum
RBK	Reallexikon zur byzantinischen Kunst
REArm	Revue de Études Arméniennes
RByz	Reallexikon der Byzantinistik
REB	Revue des Études Byzantines
RechBeyr	Recherches publiées sous la direction de l'Institut des Lettres Orientales de Beyrouth
Reg	Venance Grumel, <i>Régestes des Actes du Patriarcat de Constantinople</i> (Paris 1932-47)
Rhallis-Potlis	G. A. Rhallis et M. Potlis, <i>Σύνταγμα τῶν θείων καὶ ἱερῶν κανόνων</i> (ἐν Ἀθήναις 1852-1859)
RHE	Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique
ROC	Revue de l'Orient Chrétien
RSBN	Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici
SC	Sources Chrétiennes (Paris 1941 ss.)
ST	Studi e Testi (Città del Vaticano 1900 ss.)
SVNC	Angelo Mai, <i>Scriptorum Veterum Nova Collectio</i> 10 voll. (Romae 1825-1838)
SynOr	Jean-Baptiste Chabot, <i>Synodicon Orientale ou Recueil des synodes nestoriens</i> (Paris 1902)
TU	Texte und Untersuchungen
VC	Vigiliae Christianae
VV	Vizantijskij Vremennik
ZDMG	Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft
ZDPV	Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins
ŽMP	Žurnal Moskovskoj Patriarchij

Some hymns attributed to Saint John of Damascus present in the Coptic liturgy

The Fourth Ecumenical Council of Chalcedon (451) was considered to be the main reason for the creation of conflict between the Churches of Alexandria and Constantinople; the greater part of the Church of Alexandria announced its firm and complete adherence to St. Cyril's *one-nature of two* doctrine¹ and refused completely to accept what was determined by the Council of Chalcedon. As a way of expressing its protest against the abusive policy of the Byzantine Emperors the non-Chalcedonians of Egypt began to abandon the Greek language in the liturgical prayers and use the Coptic language instead. We do not know precisely when and how this happened. It was a long process, I imagine, since Patriarch Alexander II (705-730) still writes his Paschal Letter in good Greek.² Furthermore, there is manuscript evidence to show that the Anaphorae of the three great fathers SS. Basil, Gregory and Cyril were still celebrated in Greek on certain occasions as late as the early part of the 14th cent., at least in the Monastery of St. Macarius in Nitria.³ And despite the fact that the Council of Chalcedon had caused the division of the Egyptian church into two parts, the Chalcedonians — eventually to be named Melkites in Arabic — and the anti-Chalcedonians — the Copts in Arabic — liturgical contacts between Copts and Byzantines after Chalcedon continued to take place.⁴

This matter has been studied by many scholars. For example, Youhanna N. Youssef analysed the *Doxology Adam*, which, as he states, came from the Monastery of Saint Sabas, near Jerusalem, and entered into the Coptic

¹ Susan Wessel, *Cyril of Alexandria and the Nestorian Controversy: The Making of a Saint and of a Heretic*, Oxford 2004, pp. 271, 299.

² L. S. B. MacCoull, "The Paschal Letter of Alexander II, Patriarch of Alexandria: A Greek Defense of Coptic Theology under Arab Rule," *DOP* 44 (1990), pp. 27-40.

³ O. H. E. Burmester, "The Greek Kîrugmata, Versicles & Responses, and Hymns in the Coptic Liturgy," *OCP* 2 (1936), pp. 363-394.

⁴ Youhanna N. Youssef, "Liturgical Connections between Copts (anti-Chalcedonian) and Greeks (Chalcedonian), after the Council of Chalcedon," *EL* 114 (2000), pp. 394-400.

Rite through the monastery of Saint Anthony in the Eastern Desert.⁵ Fr. U. Zanetti, who studied the Coptic Manuscripts of the Monastery of Saint Macarius in the Scetis of Egypt, concluded that the *Consecration of Icons* is the same in both Churches.⁶

I find another ideal example of these liturgical contacts which is that of Saint John of Damascus (680-750), since some of his hymns were incorporated into the Coptic Rite. Although Saint John of Damascus belongs to the Chalcedonian Church and is not recognized by the Coptic Church among its saints the Coptic Church adopted some of his hymnographic works into its Rite.

Saint John of Damascus, a well-known figure in Byzantine Literature, was educated in Damascus, the Umayyad capital, and lived there until 730. He received a good classical education although he never set foot on territory ruled by the Byzantine emperor.⁷ The Poetical School of Saint Sabas' Lavra, which was founded by him, continued its tradition through other Sabbaite poets,⁸ so when Germanus, the Patriarch of Constantinople, the great poet of Byzantium and the contemporary of Saint John of Damascus, was informed of the *heirmoi* of St. John, he incorporated them into the composition of his Canons.⁹ The significant role of the district of Palestine and the contributions of the monastery of Saint Sabas to the Renaissance of Byzantium during the 8th and 9th centuries have been fully discussed by Marie-France Auzépy.¹⁰

Four hymns, attributed to Saint John of Damascus, were adopted and introduced into the Coptic liturgy; two were adopted in the original Greek while the others were translated into Coptic; some underwent additions and omissions while others are still as they are in the Greek texts; some ceased to be chanted in the Coptic Church while others are still in use at

⁵ Youhanna N. Youssef, "Note sur la date de la traduction d'une doxologie Copte," *Göttinger Miszellen* 166 (1998), pp. 91-93.

⁶ U. Zanetti, "La prière copte de consécration d'une icône," *Le Monde Copte* 19 (1991), pp. 93-98 and "Bohairic Liturgical Manuscripts," *OCP* 60 (1995), pp. 65-94.

⁷ A. Louth, "John of Damascus and the making of the Byzantine Theological Synthesis," in *The Sabbaite Heritage in the Orthodox Church from the Fifth Century to the Present*, ed. by Joseph Patrich, *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 98, (Leuven 2001), pp. 301-304.

⁸ Πρ. Λεοντοπόλεως Σωφρονίου, "Μιχαήλ ὁ Σύγκελλος," *Νέα Σιών* 31 (1936), pp. 329-338.

⁹ Πρ. Λεοντοπόλεως Σωφρονίου, "Ἀνδρέας Κρήτης ὁ Ἱεροσολυμίτης," *Νέα Σιών* 29 (1934), pp. 673-683.

¹⁰ Marie-France Auzépy, "De la Palestine à Constantinople (VIII^e-IX^e siècles): Étienne le Sabaitte et Jean Damascène," *Travaux et Mémoires* 12 (1994), pp. 183-217. For the hymnographers of the Lavra of St. Sabbas see C. Hannick, "Hymnographie et hymnographes sabbaite," in *The Sabbaite Heritage in the Orthodox Church from the Fifth Century to the Present*, ed. by J. Patrich, pp. 217-228.

the present day. Thus Saint John of Damascus can be considered the second known Byzantine hymnographer adopted by the Coptic Church, after Romanus the Melodus.¹¹

First and Second Hymns

Two of these four hymns by Saint John of Damascus were devoted to Feasts of the Virgin Mary and they are: Ἀνοίξω τὸ στόμα μου, Ode 1, Tone 4, Heirmos, and Τοὺς σοὺς ὕμνολόγους, Θεοτόκε, Ode 3, Heirmos. These Heirmoi, which N. B. Tomadakis asserts are surely the work of Saint John of Damascus, are two of the seven of the famous Akathistos Hymnos of the Greek Church. N. B. Tomadakis states: “Ἐν τῷ Εἰρμολογίῳ οἱ εἰρμοὶ φέρονται ὡς ποίημα Ἰωάννου μοναχοῦ, τουτέστι τοῦ Δαμασκηνοῦ” = “In the Heirmologium, the Heirmoi are referred to as a poem of John the Monk, namely the Damascene.”¹² According to O. H. E. Burmester, these two Heirmoi were introduced with other Greek versicles into the Coptic Rite by the Patriarch Cyril IV (1854-1861),¹³ but nowadays they are no longer chanted.

The text of the first hymn runs as follows:

Ἀνοίξω τὸ στόμα μου, * καὶ πληρωθήσεται
πνεύματος, * καὶ λόγον ἐρεύξομαι * τῇ βα-
σιλίδι Μητρί * καὶ ὀφθήσομαι * φαιδρῶς
πανηγυρίζων, * καὶ ᾄσω γηθόμενος * ταύ-
της τὰ θαύματα.¹⁴

Ἀνίζω τὸ στόμα μου καὶ πληρωθήσεται
Πνεύματος καὶ λόγον ἐρεύξομαι τῇ βα-
σιλίδι Μητρί καὶ ὀφθήσομαι φαιδρῶς πα-
νηστριζων καὶ ᾄσω γηθόμενος ταύτης τὰ
θαύματα.¹⁵

“I shall open my mouth / and it shall be filled with the Spirit; / and I shall pour out a word / to the Mother and Queen; / and I shall be seen / cheerfully celebrating; / and rejoicing I shall sing / her miracles.”¹⁶

¹¹ Romanus the Melodus is the first hymnographer after the Council of Chalcedon whose hymn of the Nativity Feast Ἡ παρθένος σήμερον was adopted, in the Greek language, by the Coptic Church, see Youhanna N. Youssef, “Romanus Melodus in the Coptic Church,” *Bulletin of Saint Shenouda the Archimandrite Coptic Society* 5 (1998-1999), pp. 41-44.

¹² Cf. Σωφ. Εὐστρατιάδης, *Εἰρμολόγιον*, Chennevieres-Sur-Marne, Paris 1932 (Ἀγιορειτικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη), pp. 99-100 and N. B. Τωμαδάκης, *Ἡ Βυζαντινὴ Ὑμνογραφία καὶ Ποίησις*, τόμ. Β΄, Θεσσαλονίκη 1993, p. 168.

¹³ Cf. Burmester, “The Greek Kîrugmata,” pp. 393 n. 5 and 394 n. 7.

¹⁴ Ὁρολόγιον τὸ μέγα, περιέχον τὴν πρέπουσαν αὐτῷ ἀκολουθίαν. Ἔκδοσις πρώτη, ἐν Ῥώμῃ 1876, p. 282. See also Πρ. Λεοντοπόλεως Σωφρονίου, “Ὁ ἅγιος Ἰωάννης ὁ Δαμασκηνὸς καὶ τὰ ποιητικὰ αὐτοῦ ἔργα,” *Νέα Σιών* 26 (1931), pp. 530-538 and 28 (1933), pp. 11-25; and cf. also Enrica Follieri, *Initia Hymnorum Ecclesiae Graecae*, I-V, Città del Vaticano 1960-1966 (ST 211-215), I, 12.

¹⁵ Burmester, “The Greek Kîrugmata,” p. 394.

¹⁶ Cf. http://www.goarch.org/chapel/liturgical_texts/vaporis_akathist [access: 01.12.2014].

The text of the second hymn runs as follows (in bold characters are the variants of the Coptic text which probably depends on another Greek recension):

<p>Τοὺς σοὺς ὕμνολόγους, Θεοτόκε, ὡς ζῶσα καὶ ἄφθορος πηγή, θίασον συγκροτήσαντας, πνευματικὸν στερέωσον· καὶ ἐν τῇ θείᾳ δόξῃ σου * στεφάνων δόξης ἀξίωσον.¹⁷</p>	<p>Ποτε σοτε τιμολογοτε, Θεοτοκε ως ζωσα κε αφθορος πηγη θιασον συγκροτησαντας πνευματικον στερεωσον, κε εν τη θια δοξη σου στεφανων δοξης αξιωσον.¹⁸</p>
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“Ο Theotokos, as a living and abundant fountain, strengthen those united in spiritual fellowship who sing hymns of praise to you. And in your divine glory, deem them worthy of crowns of glory.”¹⁹

Third Hymn

The third hymn attributed to Saint John of Damascus is Χαῖρε καὶ εὐφραίνου πόλις Σιών²⁰ and entered into the Coptic Rite in Coptic translation with some variant readings, additions and omissions. In the Greek Church it is chanted during the Vespers of Palm Sunday εἰς τὸ Λυχνικόν after the Προοιμιακόν, Tone Plagal 4.²¹ In the Coptic Church, this hymn is chanted on Palm Sunday, after the reading of the Holy Gospel. The Upsala Manuscript, dated 1546 A.D., of *Miṣbāḥ al-zulmah wā idāḥ al-khidma*, the great encyclopedical work of Abū al-Barakāt Ibn Kabar (14th cent.) refers to this hymn in the 18th chapter dealing with “what is proper to be read at the feast of Palm Sunday (ما يجب اعتماده في عيد الشعانين).” It says: “The prayer con-

¹⁷ This is the text, e.g., of Ὁρολόγιον τὸ μέγα, Ἀποστολικὴ Διακονία, Athens 1952, p. 495; in Ὁρολόγιον τὸ μέγα, Rome 1876, 283, we read: Τοὺς σοὺς ὕμνολόγους, Θεοτόκε, * ἡ ζῶσα καὶ ἄφθορος πηγή, * θίασον συγκροτήσαντας * πνευματικὸν στερέωσον, * καὶ ἐν τῇ θείᾳ **μνήμῃ** σου * στεφάνων δόξης ἀξίωσον. For further information about this Heirmos see Sameh Farouk Soliman: The Theotokos as Bacchos: A comparison between Euripides' Bacchae and Saint John of Damascus' Heirmos of the Acathistus Hymnus, Ode Three, a paper delivered at the 3rd International Conference of Byzantine Music and Hymnology with title *Byzantine Musical Culture*, Oct. 29-Nov. 2, 2011, Paeania, Attica, Greece. The Conference was co-organized by the American Society of Byzantine Music and Hymnology (ASBMH) of the University of Pittsburgh and the European Art Center for the Study of the Culture and Civilization of the Eastern Roman State in Europe (EUARCE) (unpublished paper).

¹⁸ Burmester, “The Greek Kîrugmata,” pp. 394.

¹⁹ http://www.goarch.org/chapel/liturgical_texts/vaporis_akathist.

²⁰ Πρ. Λεοντοπόλεως Σωφρονίου, “Ὁ ἅγιος Ἰωάννης ὁ Δαμασκηνὸς καὶ τὰ ποιητικὰ αὐτοῦ ἔργα,” *Νέα Σιών* 27 (1932) pp. 329-353, esp. p. 344.

²¹ Τριώδιον Κατανυκτικὸν περιέχον ἅπασαν τὴν ἀνήκουσαν αὐτῷ ἀκολουθίαν τῆς Ἀγίας καὶ Μεγάλης Τεσσαρακοστῆς. Ἐκδοσις τῆς Ἀποστολικῆς Διακονίας τῆς Ἐκκλησίας τῆς Ἑλλάδος, ἐν Ἀθήναις 1993, pp. 351, 357.

tinues and a Canon for this day, Ραυι οτνοϣ Cιων †βακι (i.e. for the Palm Sunday), shall be recited.”²²

The text of this Hymn runs as follows (in bold the variants between the two texts):

Χαῖρε καὶ εὐφραίνου, πόλις Σιών, τέρπου καὶ ἀγάλλου ἡ Ἐκκλησία τοῦ Θεοῦ²³. Ἴδου γὰρ ὁ Βασιλεύς σου παραγέγογεν ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ, ἐπὶ πώλου καθεζόμενος, ὑπὸ παίδων ἀνυμνούμενος. Ὡσαννὰ ἐν τοῖς ὑψίστοις εὐλογημένος εἶ, ὁ ἔχων πλήθος οἰκτιρμῶν, ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς.

Ἦλθεν ὁ Σωτὴρ σήμερον, ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν Ἱερουσαλήμ, πληρῶσαι τὴν γραφὴν· καὶ πάντες ἔλαβον ἐν ταῖς χερσὶ βαῖα, τοὺς δὲ χιτῶνας ὑπεστρώννουν αὐτῷ, γινώσκοντες, ὅτι αὐτός ἐστιν ὁ Θεός ἡμῶν, ᾧ τὰ Χερουβὶμ βοᾷ ἀπαύστως. Ὡσαννὰ ἐν τοῖς ὑψίστοις, εὐλογημένος εἶ, ὁ ἔχων πλήθος οἰκτιρμῶν, ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς²⁴.

Ραυι οτνοϣ Cιων †βακι : διεροτο
οτοϣ θεληλ : εηπεε γαρ πεοτρο
εϣνηοτ : εϣταληοττ ἔχεν οτχηχ : ετρωσ
δαχωϣ ἵχε νιαλωοτι : χε Ὡσαννα δην
νηετβοσι : φαι πε ποτρο ὑΠιϣλ.

Δοξα Πατρι...

Ἐταϣὶ ἵχε πενοϣ Ἰηϣ Πχϣ : ἐ†βακι
ἵτε Ἰλημ : ἔχωκ ἐβολ ἵνιτραφη : ἵτε
νιϣωτπ ὑπροφητης : ἀνιλωοτὶ ϣαι
ἵθανβαι χε Ὡσαννα δην νηετβοσι : φαι
πε ποτρο ὑΠιϣλ.

Κε ντην...²⁵

“Rejoice and be glad, O city of Sion; / exult (Zech 2:14) and be exceedingly joyful, **O Church of God [C om.]**.²⁶ / For behold, your King has come / **in righteousness [C om.]**, seated on a foal, / and the children sing His praises: / Hosanna in the highest, / **blessed are You Who shows great compassion, / have mercy upon us [C: This is the king of Israel – Glory to the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit].** / Today the Savior [C: Our Lord Jesus Christ] has come to the city of Jerusalem [C om.], / to fulfill the Scriptures [C add. of the choosen Prophets]; / and all have taken [C: the children take] palms into their / hands and spread their garments before Him, / knowing that He is our God, / to Whom the Cherubim sing without / ceasing [C om.]: Hosanna in the highest, / **blessed are You Who shows great compassion, / have mercy upon us [C: This is the king of Israel].**”²⁷

²² Cf. L. Villecourt, “Les observances liturgiques et la discipline du jeûne dans l’Église Copte. IV,” *Mus* 38 (1925), pp. 261-320 [125-184], on p. 302 [166]. Arabic text in Anba Samuel Bishop of Šibīn al-Qanāṭir (ed.), *Miṣbāḥ al-ḡulmah wā idāḥ al-khidma*, Cairo 1998, vol. 2, ch. 18, p. 145.

²³ The phrase: ἡ Ἐκκλησία τοῦ Θεοῦ is missing in the translated Coptic text. We note here that the Greek text, at the first line, addresses the “City of Sion” and after that he changes his address to be for the “Church of God” as the “New Sion,” while the Coptic text still addresses the City of Sion.

²⁴ Τριώδιον Κατανυκτικόν, pp. 351, 357 and Enrica Follieri, *Initia Hymnorum Ecclesiae Graecae*, V, 57.

²⁵ See ترتيب أسبوع البصخة بحسب طقس الكنيسة القبطية الأرثوذكسية، لجنة التحرير والنشر بمطراية بني سويف، 1995, pp. 68-70.

²⁶ The variants of the Coptic text (C) are given between brackets.

²⁷ http://www.denver.goarch.org/liturgical/triodion/holy_week/ps_apodosis.pdf.

Here we add six verses of the current Coptic text²⁸ which are not found in the Greek text because, it seems, the version for Palm Sunday in the Coptic Church may be taken from a preceding recension of the Greek hymn:

Δεξανοτη φωρῳ ἡνοτεβωσ : εἰξεν πιμ-
ωιτ ἡπερμθο : εἰνα ἡτερμωσι ἐρρη ἐχ-
ωοτ : ἡξε ἡς πιμζωρεος : ἐρε ζανκοτχι
ωῳ ἐβολ : ξε Ὡσαννα ζεν νηετβοσι : φαι
πε ποτρο ἡπλσραῆλ.

Κε ντην ... ἁμην.

Τοτε ασχωκ ἐβολ ἡφοοτ : ἡξε τνιψτ
ἡπροφητια : ξε ἐβολζεν ρωοτ ἡζανκοτχι
ἡλῶοτι : Πθοκ ακσεβτε πισμοτ : ετωῳ
ἐβολ ἡξε νιῶλῶοτι : ξε Ὡσαννα ζεν
νηετβοσι : φαι πε ποτρο ἡπλσραῆλ.

Κε ντην ... ἁμην.

Τοτε αϥχοσ ἡξε Δατιδ : ζεν πχωμ ἡτε
νιψαλμοσ : ξε ϥσuarωοττ ἡξε φνεοηνοτ :
ζεν φραν ἡΠοσ Φτ : ἐρε νιῶλῶοτι ζωσ
ἐροϥ : ξε Ὡσαννα ζεν νηετβοσι : φαι πε
ποτρο ἡπλσραῆλ.

Κε ντην ... ἁμην.

Εταϥι ἡξε ἡς ἐδοτη ἐλεροτσαλμ : τ
βακι τηρσ ῡθοορτερ : εοβε νιμῡ ετκωτ
ἐροϥ : ἐρε νιῶλῶοτι ωῳ ἐβολ : ξε Ὡσαννα
ζεν νηετβοσι : φαι πε ποτρο ἡπλσραῆλ.

Κε ντην ... ἁμην.

Τοτε νιλοτδαι ἡἀνομοσ : ατμοζ ζεν
οτνιψτ ἡχοζ : πεχωοτ ἡπενοσ ἡς : ξε
μαροτχαρωοτ ζεν ναιωῳ : ἡξε νικοτχι
νιῶλῶοτι : ξε Ὡσαννα ζεν νηετβοσι : φαι
πε ποτρο ἡπλσραῆλ.

Κε ντην ... ἁμην.

Πεξε ἡς ἡνιλοτδαι ξε ἐῡωπ ατῡανχα-
ρωοτ : ἡξε νικοτχι νιῶλῶοτι : ῡατωῳ ἐβολ
ἡξε νιῶνι : οτοζ ἡτοτεωσ ἐροι : ξε Ὡσαννα
ζεν νηετβοσι : φαι πε ποτρο ἡπλσραῆλ.

Κε ντην ... ἁμην.

والبعض فرشوا ثيابهم على الطريق أمامه لكي يسير عليها
يسوع الناصري، والصغار يصرخون قائلين: "أوصنا في
الأعالي، هذا هو ملك إسرائيل".

الآن وكل أوان، آمين.

حينئذ كملت اليوم النبوة العظيمة: "من أفواه الأطفال
الصغار أعددت سُبحاً" والصغار يصرخون قائلين: "أوصنا في
الأعالي، هذا هو ملك إسرائيل".

الآن وكل أوان، آمين.

حينئذ قال داود في كتاب المزامير: "مبارك الآتي باسم الرب
الإله" والصغار يصرخون قائلين: "أوصنا في الأعالي، هذا هو
ملك إسرائيل".

الآن وكل أوان، آمين.

لما دخل يسوع إلى أورشليم، ارتجت المدينة كلها من أجل
الجموع المحيطين به، والصغار يصرخون قائلين: "أوصنا في
الأعالي، هذا هو ملك إسرائيل".

الآن وكل أوان، آمين.

حينئذ اليهود المخالفون إمتلأوا غيرة عظيمة وقالوا للرب
يسوع: "فليسكت هؤلاء من هذا الصباح" والصغار
يصرخون قائلين: "أوصنا في الأعالي، هذا هو ملك إسرائيل".

الآن وكل أوان، آمين.

فقال يسوع لليهود: "إذا سكت هؤلاء الصغار، لصرخت
الحجارة وسبحتني قائلين: "أوصنا في الأعالي، هذا هو ملك
إسرائيل".

الآن وكل أوان، آمين.

²⁸ See ترتيب أسبوع البصخة بحسب طقس الكنيسة القبطية الأرثوذكسية pp. 68-70.

"Some spread their garments / on the way before Him, / that Jesus the Nazorean / may walk upon them / while the children were proclaiming: / 'Hosanna in the highest, / this is the King of Israel. / Now and forever, Amen.

Then, today the great prophecy/ is fulfilled: / 'Out of the mouth of little children / You have prepared praise,' (Ps 8:3 LXX, Mt 21:16) / while the children were proclaiming: / 'Hosanna in the highest, / this is the King of Israel.' / Now and forever, Amen.

Then, David said / in the book of the Psalms: / 'Blessed is He who comes / in the name of the Lord God' (Ps 118:25), / while the children were praising: 'Hosanna in the highest, / this is the King of Israel.' / Now and forever, Amen.

When Jesus entered Jerusalem, / the entire city was shocked / because of the multitudes who surrounded Him, / while the children were proclaiming: / 'Hosanna in the highest, / this is the King of Israel.' / Now and forever, Amen.

Then, the impious Jews / were filled with great envy / and said to our Lord Jesus: / 'Let the little children keep silent / with these proclamations: / Hosanna in the highest, / this is the King of Israel.' / Now and forever, Amen.

Jesus said to the Jews, 'If these children / should keep silent, / the stones would cry out / and praise Me: / Hosanna in the highest, / this is the King of Israel'. Now and forever, Amen."²⁹

Fourth Hymn

The fourth hymn is Ἀνάστασιν Χριστοῦ θεασάμενοι which is known in the Coptic Church as **ἮΝΝΑΥ** or "The Canon of the Resurrection." This "Canon" is found in the Coptic and the Greek Churches where it is a part of the *Easter Day Canon*.

Yassa 'Abdil Masīh studied this Canon in an important article. As he notes,³⁰ Abū al-Barakāt Ibn Kabar, in the 18th chapter of his book *Miṣbāḥ al-ẓulmah wā idāḥ al-khidma*, dealing with "what is proper to be read at the Midnight of the Sunday of the Holy Easter" (ذِكْرُ مَا يُعْتَمَدُ لَيْلَةَ أَحَدِ الْقِيَامَةِ الْمُقَدَّسَةِ), refers to this canon saying: "The canon of Resurrection **ἮΝΝΑΥ** ἘΤΑΝΑΚΤΑΚΙΣ ὁ Πῶς shall be recited,"³¹ which proves that this hymn was in use during Ibn Kabar's lifetime († 1324).

²⁹ The Greek hymn has a last verse which is missed in Coptic: Ὁ τοῖς Χερουβὶμ ἐποχούμενος, / καὶ ὑμνούμενος ὑπὸ τῶν Σεραφίμ, / ἐπέβης ἐπὶ πύλου, Δαυϊτικῶς Ἀγαθέ, / καὶ παῖδες σε ἀνύμνουν θεοπρεπῶς, / Ἰουδαῖοι ἐβλάσφημουν παρανόμως, / τὸ ἀκάθεκτον τῶν ἐθνῶν, ἡ καθέδρα τοῦ / πύλου προετύπου, ἐξ ἀπιστίας εἰς πίστιν μεταποιούμενον. / Δόξα σοι Χριστέ, ὁ μόνος ἐλεήμων καὶ φιλόανθρωπος. Cf. Τριώδιον Κατανυκτικόν, pp. 351, 357, and Πρ. Λεοντοπόλεως Σωφρονίου, "Ὁ ἅγιος Ἰωάννης ὁ Δαμασκηνὸς καὶ τὰ ποιητικὰ αὐτοῦ ἔργα," Νέα Σιών 27 (1932) pp. 329-353, esp. p. 344.

³⁰ Yassa 'Abdil Masīh, "The Canon of the Resurrection 'ἮΝΝΑΥ'," *BSAC* 14 (1950-1957), pp. 23-35, on p. 24.

³¹ Cf. Anba Samuel Bishop of Šibīn al-Qanāṭir (ed.), *Miṣbāḥ al-ẓulmah wā idāḥ al-khidma*, vol. 2, ch. 18, p. 160; L. Villecourt, "Les observances liturgiques et la discipline du jeûne dans l'Église Copte. IV," *Mus* 38 (1925), p. 295 [159].

The Coptic hymn corresponds to two items in the Greek Church. We do not know who the author of the second one is, the one which corresponds to the *Εὐλογητάρια Ἀναστάσιμα*, chanted every Sunday all the year round at the Morning Service, after the *Ψαλτήριον* and the *Πολυέλεον* or the *Ἄμωμον* in Tone Plagal 1.³²

The first one, on the other hand, is the Greek hymn *Ἀνάστασιν Χριστοῦ θεασάμενοι* with few variants. This hymn is chanted on Sunday *πρωτῇ εἰς τοὺς Αἴνους*, Tone 3, after the reading of the Gospel of the *Ἑωθινός*,³³ at midnight at Easter, from Easter to the Ascension at Matins, on the Eve of the Ascension as well as on the Feast of the Holy Cross.³⁴ It is recited in the Coptic Church at every midnight service on all the Holy Fifty days after the Feast of the Resurrection and then every Sunday (i.e. Saturday night) until the fourth Sunday of the month of *Hātūr*, since we then start the month of *Kiahk*.³⁵

In his book *Comparative Liturgy*, Anton Baumstark provides evidence about the origin of this hymn-writing: "the ideas and even certain expressions of which (i.e. the hymn) go back, as some fragments on papyrus show, to extreme antiquity and seem to belong to Christian Egypt as their native country."³⁶ Although A. Baumstark did not give any further information, he surely knew some of the papyrus fragments of a liturgical nature for *Easter Day* that are available today.³⁷ On the analysis of many manuscripts,³⁸ Fr. Sophronius Evstratiades argued that the so-called *στιχηρὰ ἀνατολικά ἀνα-*

³² Ἐγκόλπιον τοῦ Ἀναγνώστου: Ἱεραὶ Ἀκολουθίαι τοῦ Ἑσπερινοῦ, τοῦ Ὁρθρου καὶ τῆς Θείας Λειτουργίας, Ἐκδόσεις Ἀποστολικῆς Διακονίας, ἐκ. ΙΕ', Ἀθῆναι 2000, pp. 44, 45.

³³ Μικρὸν Τυπικὸν τῆς Μεγάλης τοῦ Χριστοῦ Ἐκκλησίας, Ἀθῆναι 2003, p. 26.

³⁴ Yassa 'Abdil Masih, "The Canon of the Resurrection Tennau," pp. 24-25.

³⁵ Old Rite and common usage is to chant it only in *Kiahk* Bright Sunday (Apocalypse Night). However, there is nothing in the hymn's tune or text that would make it exclusive to *Kiahk* or during the Apocalypse Night; it is just a continuation of the topic of the third canticle. Most likely, this became the rule because of the hymn's length.

³⁶ A. Baumstark, *Comparative Liturgy*. Revised by B. Botte, English edition by F.L. Cross, Westminster, Md.: Newman Press, 1958, p. 101.

³⁷ Cf. J. Van Haelst, *Catalogue des papyrus littéraires juifs et chrétiens*, Paris 1976, Index p. 417b: "Pâques."

³⁸ Codex 263 f. 139 of the Bibliothèque nationale de Paris: "Στιχηρὰ Ἀνατολικά ψαλλόμενα ἀπὸ τοῦ προκειμένου ὧν ἡ ἀκροστιχὶς ἀβ ἐν δὲ τοῖς θεοτοκίαις Ἰωάννου μοναχοῦ." Σαββαϊτικὸν Κώδ. 221 φ. 2 & 3: "Στιχηρὰ κατ' ἀβ ἐν δὲ τοῖς θεοτοκίαις Ἰωάννου ἀμήν," cf. Κεραμέως, Ἱεροσολ. Βιβλ., τόμ. Β', p. 33. Codex I 84 Λαύρας: "Μουσικὸν Στιχηράριον σὺν Θεῷ ἀρχόμενον ἀπὸ τοῦ Τελώνου καὶ Φαρισαίου μέχρι τῶν ἀγίων Πάντων καὶ τὰ Ἀνατολικά τοῦ Δαμασκηνοῦ κυροῦ Ἰωάννου"; Codex Γ 72 φ. 57β: "Τῷ Σαββάτῳ τῶν ἀρτοκλασιῶν πρωτὶ Στιχηρὰ ἀναστάσιμα Ἀνατολικά Ἰωάννου μοναχοῦ" and Codex Γ 74 φ. 45β: "Τὸ ἐν τῇ Παρακλητικῇ τοῦ πλ. α' ἤχου Στιχηρὸν Ἀνατολικὸν ἀναγράφει εἰς Ἰωάννην τὸν Δαμασκηνόν." Codices 220 Coislin f. 157β & f. 159α of the Bibliothèque nationale de Paris and B 32 φ. 196β & 197β Λαύρας: "Ἀκολουθία ἀναστάσιμος Ἀνατολικὴ ποίημα Ἰωάννου μοναχοῦ."

στάσιμα wrongly attributed to the Patriarch of Constantinople Anatolius (Κώδ. Γ 86 φ. 245β Λαύρας) are the work of John of Damascus.³⁹ The wrong attribution to Anatolius is due to the homonymity between ἀνατολικά and Ἀνατόλιος. They are called ἀνατολικά for their origin, that is to say the ἀνατολή, i.e. Jerusalem,⁴⁰ in the attempt to distinguish them from other poems from different sources referred to in the Codices as “Byzantine,” “Sicilian” and “Sinaiticus,” etc. Thus, according to Evstratiades, Ἀνάστασιν Χριστοῦ θεασάμενοι is a work we can attribute to John of Damascus.⁴¹ This fact was not mentioned by Yassa ‘Abdil Masīh.

We give here the Greek text along with a Coptic translation and compare them in order to show the variants, the additions, the omissions and the differences between the two texts.

Ἀνάστασιν Χριστοῦ θεασάμενοι * προσκυνήσωμεν Ἅγιον Κύριον, * Ἰησοῦν τὸν μόνον ἀναμάρτητον. *

Τὸν σταυρόν σου, Χριστέ, προσκυνοῦμεν, * καὶ τὴν **ἀγίαν** σοῦ Ἀνάστασιν * ὑμνοῦμεν καὶ δοξάζομεν. *

σὺ γὰρ εἶ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, * ἐκτός σου ἄλλον οὐκ οἶδαμεν, * τὸ ὄνομά σου ὀνομάζομεν. *

Δεῦτε, πάντες οἱ πιστοὶ, προσκυνήσωμεν * τὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ **ἀγίαν** Ἀνάστασιν. * ἰδοὺ γὰρ ἦλθε διὰ τοῦ Σταυροῦ * χαρὰ ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ κόσμῳ. *

Διὰ παντὸς εὐλογοῦντες τὸν Κύριον, * ὑμνοῦμεν τὴν Ἀνάστασιν αὐτοῦ. * **Σταυρόν** γὰρ ὑπομείνας **δι’ ἡμᾶς**, * θανάτῳ θάνατον ὤλεσεν.⁴²

ΤΕΝΝΑΤ ἔΤΑΝΑΣΤΑΣΙΣ ὙΠΧΣ ΟΤΟΞ ΤΕ-
ΝΟΤΩΨΤ ὙΦΗΘΟΤΑΒ ΙΗΣ ΠΧΣ ΠΕΝΘΟΕΙΣ
ΦΗΕΤΟΙ ΝΑΘΝΟΒΙ ὙΜΑΤΑΤΓ.

ΤΕΝΟΤΩΨΤ ὙΠΕΚΣΤΑΤΡΟΣ Ὡ ΠΧΣ : ΤΕΝΩΣ
ΤΕΝΤΨΟΤ ὙΤΕΚΑΝΑΣΤΑΣΙΣ :

ΧΕ ΝΘΟΚ ΓΑΡ ΠΕ ΠΕΝΝΟΤΨ : ΟΤΟΞ ὙΤΕΝΣΩΟΤΗ
ΝΚΕΟΤΑΙ ΑΝ ἘΒΗΛ ἘΡΟΚ : ΟΤΟΞ ΔΕΝ ΠΕΚΡΑΝ
ΣΕΜΟΤ ΤΕΡΟΝ.

ΔΑΜΩΙΝΙ ΤΗΡΟΤ ΝΙΠΙΣΤΟΣ ὙΤΕΝΟΤΩΨΤ ὙΤΑ-
ΝΑΣΤΑΣΙΣ ὙΠΧΣ : ΧΕ ΖΗΠΠΕ ἘΒΟΛ ΖΙΤΕΝ
ΠΕΓΓΓΕ ΑΓΙ ὙΧΕ ΦΡΑΨΙ ἘΔΟΤΗ ἘΠΙΚΟΣΜΟΣ
ΤΗΡΓ.

ΨΑΡΕΝΣΜΟΤ ἘΠΟΣ ὙΝΗΟΤ ΝΙΒΕΝ ΟΤΟΞ ὙΤΕΝ-
ΤΨΟΤ ὙΤΕΚΑΝΑΣΤΑΣΙΣ : ΧΕ ΑΓΕΡΕΤΠΟΜΟΝΗΝ
ΟΤΟΞ ΑΓΔΟΜΔΕΜ ὙΦΜΟΤ ΖΙΤΕΝ ΠΕΓΜΟΤ⁴³

“Having beheld [C: **We behold**] the Resurrection of Christ / let us worship [C: **and we worship**] the [C: **our**] holy Lord /Jesus [C **add. Christ**], the only Sinless One. // We worship Thy Cross, O Christ, /and [C **om.**] Thy holy [C **om.**] Resurrection we hymn and glorify: for Thou art our God, / [C **add. and**] “we know none

³⁹ Πρ. Λεοντοπόλεως Σωφρονίου, “Ο ἅγιος Ἰωάννης ὁ Δαμασκηνὸς καὶ τὰ ποιητικὰ αὐτοῦ ἔργα,” *Νέα Σιών* 28 (1933), pp. 11-25, esp. pp. 15, 16.

⁴⁰ C. Hannick, “Hymnographie et hymnographes Sabbaites,” in *The Sabbaites Heritage in The Orthodox Church from The Fifth Century to The Present*, ed. Joseph Patrich, *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 98, Leuven 2001, p. 219.

⁴¹ Cf. Σωφρονίου, “Ο ἅγιος Ἰωάννης ὁ Δαμασκηνὸς,” *Νέα Σιών* 28 (1933) 20, n° 100.

⁴² Πεντηκοστάριον, Rome 1883, p. 17.

⁴³ See مكتبة المحبة، الإبصمودية المقدسة، Cairo 2007, pp. 19-20.

Conclusion

From the presentation above we make the following remarks in conclusion:

1. As for the first two *heirmoi* of Saint John of Damascus we note that despite the doctrinal differences between the Greek and Coptic Churches, the Coptic alphabet remained a last link, because of the ostensible similarities between the two languages. Hence it was easier for the Copts to borrow texts from the Greek Orthodox Church, in the Greek without translation, except on a limited number of occasions.

2. Unlike many other Greek hymns which entered into the Coptic Church in Greek,⁴⁸ either by Saint John of Damascus or by other hymnographers, the hymn of "Palm Sunday" and that of the "Canon of the Resurrection" were translated into Coptic. Why? That is the question! I do not think that this was done so that these two hymns might appear pure Coptic compositions, or with a view to hiding the identity of the Greek hymnographer, Saint John of Damascus, who belongs to the Chalcedonian Greek Church, for the ancient Copts were more tolerant than we are nowadays. I think that the Copts simply did not worry about the identity of the author and translated them with the sole purpose of being understood by those who did not know Greek.

3. On the other hand, it is quite clear that the "Palm Sunday" version and that of the "Canon of the Resurrection" of the Coptic Church are, in many points, fuller and more complete than the Greek ones. The short forms, if they are actually short forms, may be due to the compilers of the Greek texts in their definite forms. As for the Coptic additions, they may be due to the nature of the Copts which would tend to add to the translated Coptic texts from their own, so that the texts may appear to carry their own footprint. From the attribution of the first part of the "Canon of the Resurrection" to Saint John of Damascus and from the information given by Ibn Kabar we conclude that the date of the adoption of — at least — this hymn by the Coptic Church lies in the period between Saint John of Damascus' death, i.e. 750 and Ibn Kabar's death, i.e. 1324 (the period between the middle of the 8th century and the first quarter of the 14th century). I would like to suggest that this hymn and probably the others entered into the Coptic Rite either through Jerusalem where the two com-

⁴⁸ Such as: 'Η παρθένος σήμερον, 'Η γέννησίς σου Χριστέ ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, Βουλὴν προαιώνιον, 'Εν τῇ γεννήσει τὴν παρθενίαν ἐφύλαξας, 'Ανοίξω τὸ στόμα μου, Ἄξιόν ἐστιν ὡς ἀληθῶς, Τοὺς σοὺς ὕμνολόγους Θεοτόκε, 'Εν 'Ιορδάνῃ βατιζομένου, Τὸν συνανάρχον λόγον, Τοῦ λίθου σφραγισθέντος, Εὐφραίνεσθαι τὰ οὐράνια, and Τὴν ἀνάστασίν σου Χριστέ Σωτήρ, see Burmester, "The Greek *Kirugmata*," see above.

munities exchanged their liturgical Rites (cf. the *Consecration of Icons*) or through the monastery of Saint Anthony (cf. the *Doxology of Adam*).

After examining these examples we are now in a position to determine that from the so-called “Dark Ages of Byzantium (650-850)”⁴⁹ there still came a bright light through the hymnographic compositions of John of Damascus which eventually illuminated the Coptic liturgy and so some important and useful information lies hidden in the fact that some hymnographic works, written by Chalcedonian authors, like Saint John of Damascus, after the Council of Chalcedon, were adopted and introduced into its rite by the Coptic Church.

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SUMMARY

The present paper reveals wide circulation of the Byzantine hymnography even in non-Byzantine traditions. Some hymnographic works, composed by Saint John of Damascus (680–750) after the Council of Chalcedon (451) and more precisely during the so-called “Dark Ages of Byzantium” (650-850), were adopted by the Coptic Church into its liturgy. Despite the dogmatic differences between the Chalcedonians (the Byzantines) and the anti-Chalcedonians (the Copts), liturgical connections never stopped and four Byzantine hymns, attributed to Saint John of Damascus, were introduced into the Coptic Liturgy. These four hymns are: Ἀνοίξω τὸ στόμα μου, Τοὺς σοὺς ὕμνολόγους, Θεοτόκε, Χαῖρε καὶ εὐφραίνου πόλις Σιών i.e. “The Canon of the Palm Sunday” and Ἀνάστασιν Χριστοῦ θεασάμενοι i.e. “The Canon of the Resurrection.” Two of these four hymns entered in the original Greek version while the others were translated into Coptic; some underwent additions and omissions while others are still as they were in the original Greek texts. This matter testifies that from the so-called “Dark Ages of Byzantium” there still came a bright light through the hymnographic compositions of Saint John of Damascus. Also some important information lies hidden in the fact that some hymnographic works, written by Chalcedonian authors, like Saint John of Damascus, after the Council of Chalcedon, were integrated into the Coptic liturgy.

⁴⁹ For this period see our study “Re-assessing views regarding the ‘Dark Ages’ of Byzantium (650-850),” *Byz* 76 (2006), pp. 115-152.

Frammenti di un Meneo di agosto nell'Archivio Carrano di Teggiano

I. *I frammenti ritrovati nell'archivio di famiglia*¹

Al copioso archivio posseduto dalla famiglia Carrano² originaria di Teggiano, l'antica *Dianum*³, appartengono due frammenti di Menei bizantini, databili tra la fine del X e la prima metà dell'XI secolo. Essi contengono parte delle ufficiature di agosto dedicate ai santi Taddeo, Agatonico, Pemen e Mosè l'Etiopio, che cadono rispettivamente nei giorni 21, 22, 28 e 29 del medesimo mese⁴.

Il recupero materiale dei frammenti non è stato casuale. Esso si deve al proprietario dei beni archivistici di famiglia, l'avv. Luigi Carrano⁵, il qua-

¹ L'intero lavoro è stato concepito di comune accordo tra gli autori. Il paragrafo III è a cura di Paul Canart, il paragrafo V è a cura di Adele Di Lorenzo. Particolari ringraziamenti vanno al prof. Stefano Parenti, che ha partecipato al lavoro con preziosi consigli.

² Gli autori ringraziano l'avv. Luigi Carrano, che ha saldamente sostenuto la pubblicazione dei frammenti, e ciò non solo per orgoglio dell'insigne patrimonio archivistico di famiglia, ma anche per lo spirito umanistico che lo contraddistingue e per il sensibile interesse, più volte in lui manifestatosi, per ogni espressione di storia e di cultura legata al territorio di origine. Allo stesso modo i ringraziamenti si estendono anche all'avv. Paolo Carrano, terzogenito di Luigi, che con l'acribia e la curiosità tipiche di un interesse storico genuino ha ininterrottamente collaborato alle ricerche e seguito lo svolgersi del lavoro. Vivi ringraziamenti vanno al direttore del laboratorio fotografico dell'Università di Firenze il dott. Giovanni Martellucci e al prof. Augusto Guida per la loro gentile disponibilità.

³ L'odierno sito di Teggiano fa parte della provincia di Salerno in Campania. Per la storia del sito si rinvia a A. Didier, *Storia di Teggiano*, Laveglia & Carlone 2010.

⁴ Per una trattazione generale della liturgia bizantina si veda C. Hannick, *Studien zu den griechischen und slavischen liturgischen Handschriften der österreichischen Nationalbibliothek*, Wien – Köln – Graz 1972 (Byzantina Vindobonensia, 6); R. Taft, *The Byzantine Rite: A Short History*, Collegeville 1999; sull'innografia bizantina si veda F. D'Aiuto, *L'innografia*, in *Lo spazio letterario del Medioevo*, III: *Le culture circostanti*, 1: *la cultura bizantina*, a cura di G. Cavallo, Roma 2004, pp. 257-300. Si segnalano inoltre i seguenti studi sui Menei: J. Kulič, *Ricerca sulle commemorazioni giornaliere bizantine nei minei*, Pontificium Institutum Orientale 1992; C. Hannick, *Incipitarius und Edition der Monate März bis August*, Paderbon – München – Wien – Zürich 2006; A. Spanos, *Codex Lesbiacus Leimonos 11: annotated critical edition of an unpublished byzantine Menaion for june*, New York 2010 (Byzantinisches Archiv, 23); R. Krivko, *A typology of Byzantine office menaia of the ninth-fourteenth centuries*, in *Scrinium* 7,2 (2011), pp. 3-65, per quest'ultimo lavoro si veda *infra*, p. 28, n. 81; p. 36, n. 116.

⁵ Luigi Carrano è un noto avvocato cassazionista del foro partenopeo. La famiglia Carrano

le, da sempre sensibile alla conservazione e alla valorizzazione del grosso patrimonio ereditato dai suoi antenati, promosse alla fine degli anni 70 del secolo scorso un significativo e delicato lavoro di restauro. Prima di allora i fogli costituivano una legatura di protezione a un manoscritto notarile di famiglia, datato al XVI secolo. Si tratta di una raccolta autografa di formulari notarili dell'avo Giacomo Carrano, celebre notaio, che ebbe un ruolo importante durante la congiura dei baroni del 1497⁶. L'intero codice fu sottoposto al restauro presso il Laboratorio della Badia di Grottaferrata; pertanto in quell'occasione i frammenti furono definitivamente separati dal codice cinquecentesco⁷. Da quel momento i due fogli vivono di vita

di Teggiano è attestata nel Vallo di Diano sin dal 1306, allorché il capostipite menzionato dai documenti di famiglia, Guglielmo Carrano, *miles Diani et familiaris comitis Marsici*, acquisì il patronato della cappella di S. Francesco nella chiesa di S. Benedetto in Teggiano, corrispondente all'attuale chiesa della Pietà. Da altre fonti la genealogia del casato risulterebbe cominciare da Giovanni de Chaurano/Carrano, cavaliere, capitano a guerra del principato citeriore nel 1292, a stipendio diretto di Carlo d'Angiò. Cfr. C. Carucci, *La guerra del Vespro Siciliano nella frontiera del Principato: storia diplomatica*, in *Codice Diplomatico Salernitano del secolo XIII*, vol. II, a cura di C. Carucci, Subiaco 1934, n. CCVII p. 310; n. CCIX pp. 312-313. R. Filangieri, *I registri della Cancelleria Angioina*, vol. XXXVIII 1291-1292, Napoli 1957 (Testi e documenti di storia napoletana pubblicati dall'Accademia Pontaniana), n. 327 p. 69; n. 329 pp. 70-71; *ivi*, vol. XLVI seconda parte, 1265-1293, Napoli 1999 n. 75 p. 503, *ivi*, vol. XLVIII 1293-1294, Napoli 2005, n. 231 p. 102. Nel corso dei secoli alla famiglia Carrano appartennero eminenti uomini di armi, di legge nonché ecclesiastici e medici, celebri personalità chiamate a ricoprire ruoli di tutto rilievo nella storia del Regno. A testimonianza di ciò sopravvive tuttora il prezioso fondo pergamenaceo costituente l'Archivio Carrano, che comprende documenti datati a partire dal XIII fino al XVIII secolo, allorché Palazzo Carrano di Teggiano divenne la sede dell'archivio. Sull'argomento si veda L. Carrano, *Una antica famiglia: i Carrano di Teggiano*, in A. Didier, *Diano Città antica e nobile*, Teggiano 1997 (Documenti per la storia di Teggiano), pp. 83-87; alcuni profili sono raccolti in A. Federico, *Grandi dimenticati*, Salerno 1968, pp. 50-67. Per la descrizione del grosso archivio di pergamene e per l'importanza che esso riveste nella storia del Regno, si rinvia alla esaustiva nota di A. Didier, *Teggiano. Archivio Carrano in Guida alla storia di Salerno e della sua provincia*, a c. di A. Leone – G. Vitolo, Salerno 1982, pp. 937-940; per la documentazione relativa al 1799 si vedano i contributi di P. Carrano, *Una fonte archivistica per il 1799* e A. Didier, *Il patrimonio artistico di Teggiano e le fonti per la storia del 1799*, raccolti in *Per una storia non scritta: Il 1799 nel Vallo di Diano. Documenti inediti e cultura materiale*. Guida alla mostra Padula-Certosa (30 ottobre – 27 novembre 1999), Napoli 1999, pp. 11-19. I registi del fondo pergamenaceo sono in A. Didier, *Regesti delle pergamene di Teggiano (1197-1499)*, (Fonti per la storia del Mezzogiorno medievale), Altavilla Silentina 1988; per l'edizione digitale di parte del fondo pergamenaceo si consulti il link di monasterium.net: <http://www.mom-ca.uni-koeln.de/mom/IT-APC/APC/fond>).

⁶ Giacomo Carrano nacque tra il 1455 e il 1460; la sua attività notarile si estende all'incirca fino al 1529. Nel 1497 stipulò l'atto che sancì la pace tra Antonello Sanseverino, principe di Salerno, e il re Ferrante d'Aragona. Per una ricostruzione della figura e dell'attività di notar Giacomo si rinvia a P. Carrano, *Gli atti di notar Giacomo Carrano*, in *Diano e l'assedio del 1497*. Atti del Convegno di Studi Teggiano 8-9 settembre 2007, a cura di C. Carlone, Salerno 2012, pp. 175-185.

⁷ Il manoscritto di Giacomo, uno dei quattro costituenti parte del patrimonio cartaceo di famiglia, conserva una lunga serie di formulari di atti notarili. Cfr. Didier, *Guida*, p. 938.

propria; essi costituiscono un *unicum* nel patrimonio archivistico di casa Carrano: ad oggi non sussiste alcuna traccia di testimoni omogenei nell'inventario di famiglia⁸.

Risulta tuttora difficile ipotizzare la provenienza dei frammenti. Non si può del tutto escludere che essi appartenessero a un codice liturgico greco in dotazione alla cappella appartenuta alla famiglia Carrano e intitolata 'S. Nicola dei Greci'⁹. Tale codice, non più utilizzato, sarebbe stato poi smembrato; un sottoposto di Giacomo o un suo discendente avrebbe avuto tra le mani fogli sciolti del codice, e se ne sarebbe servito per ricoprire materiale coevo o più recente. Tale tecnica di riciclaggio dei materiali pergamenei è attestata in tutto il Mezzogiorno d'Italia, compreso il Vallo di Diano¹⁰.

Il contesto storico-culturale nel quale i frammenti sono collocabili è quello dell'Italia meridionale ellenofona, tra la fine del X secolo e l'inizio dell'XI¹¹. Benché il Vallo fosse inquadrato nella diocesi latina di Paestum-

⁸ Il fondo cartaceo posseduto dalla famiglia contiene migliaia di documenti; si segnalano i più significativi: quattro manoscritti del XVI secolo contenenti raccolte notarili e le prammatiche del Regno di Napoli; due manoscritti che conservano le fonti dei Parlamenti dell'Università di Diano dalla fine del XVI alla seconda metà del XVII; un manoscritto con statuti e capitoli che regolavano il governo della città, pubblicati in S. Macchiaroli, *Diano e l'omonima valle*, Napoli 1868, ristampati in P. Ebner, *Economia e società nel Cilento medievale*, Roma 1979, vol. II, pp. 156-207. Ancora un fascicolo relativo al funzionamento della Corte baronale; un manoscritto di Paolo Eterni che offre notizie sui centri abitati del Vallo, datato al 1646, di cui l'edizione in V. Bracco, *La descrizione seicentesca della Valle di Diana di Paolo Eterni*, Napoli 1982. Di particolare rilievo per lo studio del culto e per il patrimonio artistico di Teggiano sono le *Carte riguardanti il testamento di Giovanni Carrano*, datate al 1526. Per la descrizione dettagliata si veda Didier, *Guida*, pp. 937-938.

⁹ Giovanni Carrano, *magnificus vir dominus artium et medicinae doctor*, fratello maggiore di notar Giacomo, provvide a rifondare il patronato di S. Nicola dei Greci, come attestato nei documenti di famiglia, e a fondare l'ospedale annesso. È possibile ipotizzare che la chiesa di S. Nicola sia di più antica fondazione, presumibilmente collocabile alla seconda metà del XIII secolo. Essa era connessa alla cappella di S. Francesco, fondata nel 1300, come attesta la documentazione di famiglia. Sull'argomento si veda P. Carrano, *Di ritorno a Gerusalemme. La devozione dei nobili nella chiesa della SS. Pietà di Teggiano*, in *Memorie di pietra e di carta. Pellegrinaggi e luoghi di devozione in Campania*, a cura di M. Sessa, Napoli 2000 (Soprintendenza archivistica per la Campania, Soprintendenza per i Beni ambientali architettonici artistici e storici di Salerno ed Avellino, Regione Campania – Assessorato musei e biblioteche); E. Spinelli, *I frammenti in beneventana e in gotica (secc. XI-XV)*, in E. Spinelli – A. Didier, *L'archivio di San Pietro di Sala Consilina*, Salerno 1990 (Iter Campanum 1), p. 31 e n. 30; *Regesti*, n. 461, p. 191; Didier, *Diano*, p. 110.

¹⁰ Sull'argomento si veda M. Ceresa – S. Lucà, *Frammenti greci di Dioscoride Pedanio e Aezio Amideno in una edizione a stampa di Francesco Zanetti (Roma 1576)*, in *Miscellanea Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae* XV, Città del Vaticano 2008 (Studi e testi 453), pp. 191-229, in part. pp. 213-214; A. Ambrosio, *Un frammento di codice in beneventana dalla certosa di Padula all'Archivio di Stato di Napoli*, in *Studi Medievali* 49 (2008), pp. 357-373; S. Lucà, *Frammenti di manoscritti greci in Calabria e Basilicata*, in *Archivio Storico per la Calabria e la Lucania* 80 (2014), pp. 5-24.

¹¹ Cfr. Vera von Falkenhausen, *La dominazione bizantina nell'Italia meridionale dal IX*

Capaccio¹², è attestata in tutto il territorio la presenza di nuclei monastici di ascendenza greco-bizantina. Sulla base della documentazione storico-archivistica nonché artistico-toponomastica, si deduce che le comunità di lingua e cultura greca si stanziarono diffusamente nel Vallo di Diano¹³; la presenza del rito greco è attestato almeno fino al XVI secolo¹⁴. Anche se la presenza italo-greca del Vallo non si presenta così radicata come nell'area centrale del Cilento¹⁵, tuttavia, a partire dall'età longobarda, sono registrati lungo il medio corso del Tanagro consistenti nuclei di popolazione greca: è il caso del monastero di S. Maria di Pertosa, come attesta la produzione documentaria ad esso relativa, datata tra il 1092 e il 1152¹⁶. Dall'altro lato del Tanagro si situano le fondazioni di S. Onofrio di Petina, anch'essa caratterizzata da etnia greca, S. Arsenio, S. Maria della Sperlonga, S. Zaccaria e S. Maria di Rofrano, nel Cilento meridionale, quest'ultima conosciuta alle dipendenze di Grottaferrata nel corso del XII secolo¹⁷. Le fonti che offrono la cifra più considerevole della presenza di istituzioni di rito greco bizantino sono soprattutto gli atti conservati nei grossi centri monastici del Principato di Salerno, come la Ss.ma Trinità di Venosa, la Ss.ma Trinità di

all'XI secolo, introduzione all'edizione italiana di C. Violante, Bari 1978; Ead., *I Bizantini in Italia*, in *I Bizantini in Italia*, a cura di G. Cavallo – V. von Falkenhausen – R. Farioli Campanati et alii, Milano 1982 (Antica madre), pp. 3-136; A. Peters-Custot, *Les Grecs d'Italie méridionale post-byzantine. Une acculturation en douceur*, École française de Rome 2009. Per un quadro sintetico recente sulla produzione manoscritta italo-greca si rimanda all'introduzione di P. Canart – A. Jacob – S. Lucà in *Codici greci dell'Italia meridionale*, a cura di P. Canart – S. Lucà, Roma 2000, pp. 17-28, in particolare pp. 19-23.

¹² P. Ebner, *Chiesa, Baroni e popolo nel Cilento*, II, Roma 1982, pp. 149-177; P. Cantalupo, *I limiti territoriali della diocesi di Capaccio nel XIII secolo*, in *Quaderni Cilentani* 1 (1989), pp. 7-47.

¹³ Ebner, *Monasteri bizantini nel Cilento*, in *Rassegna Storica Salernitana* 28 (1967), pp. 77-142; 29-43 (1968-1983), pp. 175-250; F. Bulgarella, *Tardo antico e alto medioevo bizantino e longobardo in Storia del Vallo di Diano*, II, *Età medievale*, a cura di N. Cilento, Salerno 1982, pp. 13-41; R. Alaggio, *Monachesimo e territorio nel Vallo di Diano*, Salerno 2004, pp. 42-68.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 41.

¹⁵ Si veda per questo M. R. Marchionibus, *Il Cilento bizantino. Monastero di Santa Maria de Pactano*, Vatolla – Salerno 2004, pp. 17-41.

¹⁶ Per la consistenza del fondo pergameneo relativo al monastero di S. Maria di Pertosa si veda F. D'Oria, *Le pergamene greche*, in *La Badia di Cava nella storia e nella civiltà del Mezzogiorno medievale, Mostra di codici, pergamene, sigilli, mappe e carte geografiche in occasione del IX centenario della consacrazione della basilica abbaziale (1092 – settembre 1992)*, a cura di G. Vitolo – F. Mottola, Badia di Cava dei Tirreni 1991, pp. 125-129; per gli aspetti paleografici e diplomatistici ancora Id., *Tipologie grafiche dei documenti notarili greci*, in *Civiltà del Mezzogiorno d'Italia. Libro Documento Scrittura in età normanno-sveca*, Atti del Convegno dell'Associazione Italiana dei Paleografi e Diplomatisti (Napoli – Badia di Cava, 14-18 ottobre 1991), Napoli 1994, pp. 77-99. Per le notizie sulla storia della fondazione monastica di Pertosa, alle dipendenze della Ss.ma Trinità di Cava dei Tirreni, si veda B. Visentin, *Fondazioni Cavensi nell'Italia meridionale (secc. XI-XV)*, Salerno 2012, pp. 75-81.

¹⁷ Cfr. Alaggio, pp. 43-52.

Cava dei Tirreni, il monastero di S. Benedetto, ai quali furono annessi, nel corso dell'età normanna, i più importanti cenobi greci. L'irradiazione del monachesimo italo-greco in un'area soggetta per tradizione alla presenza e all'influenza del monachesimo benedettino, è frutto di una tendenza degli stessi asceti italo-greci, la cui presenza è attestata anche in quest'area del Mezzogiorno, come Luca di Armento, sfuggito da Reggio, Vitale da Castro-nuovo, S. Elia di Enna, fuggito dalla Sicilia, o l'itinerario di Nilo da Rossano, dalla Calabria a Roma attraverso i territori longobardi. La particolarità del territorio, favorevole agli iniziali ideali ascetici dei movimenti migratori di ispirazione basiliana, furono in grado di valorizzare le risorse del territorio e di aumentare demograficamente siti poco abitati attraverso evolute fondazioni e insediamenti¹⁸. Soprattutto in età normanna, il monachesimo greco sopravvisse grazie alla politica dei reggenti, i quali conservarono le istituzioni preesistenti, sostennero e fondarono strutture politiche ed ecclesiastiche che erano preposte a custodire i documenti, sia latini sia greci, come l'abbazia di Montecassino, il monastero di S. Maria del Patir, quello del SS.mo Salvatore di Messina e dei Ss. Elia e Anastasio di Carbone¹⁹.

II. *Il contenuto*

I fogli dell'Archivio Carrano contengono due frammenti non consecutivi di un Meneio di agosto. Il f. 1r-v contiene l'ufficio del santo Taddeo che cade il 21 agosto²⁰. Esso occupa dal r. 1 del f. 1r al r. 24 del f. 1v. Parte con la terza ode del canone mattutino dedicato all'apostolo e complessivamente comprende le odi 3-9 ugualmente suddivise nello schema consueto di tre tropari e *theotokion* finale. Da segnalare che nell'ufficio tramandato manca la santa Bassa, commemorata in vari manoscritti e nell'edizione romana dei Menei insieme a Taddeo²¹. Al r. 25 del f. 1v ha inizio l'ufficio dedicato

¹⁸ Cfr. S. Borsari, *Il monachesimo bizantino nella Sicilia e nell'Italia meridionale prenormanne*, Napoli 1963; E. Follieri, *I santi dell'Italia greca in Oriente cristiano e Santità. Figure e storie di Santi tra Bisanzio e l'Occidente*, a cura di S. Gentile, Milano 1998, pp. 93-106; Alaggio pp. 53-57.

¹⁹ V. von Falkenhausen, *Il monachesimo italo-greco e i suoi rapporti con il monachesimo benedettino*, in *L'esperienza monastica benedettina e la Puglia*, Atti del Convegno di studio organizzato in occasione del XV centenario della nascita di san Benedetto (Bari – Noci – Lecce – Picciano, 6-10 ottobre 1980), a cura di C. D. Fonseca, I, Galatina 1983, pp. 119-135; Ead., *L'Archimandritato del S. Salvatore in lingua phari di Messina e il monachesimo italo-greco nel regno normanno-svevo (secoli XI-XIII)*, in *Messina. Il ritorno della memoria*, Palermo 1994, pp. 41-52.

²⁰ Per le fonti biografiche relative ai quattro santi si rinvia a *Bibliotheca Sanctorum* 6, Roma 1965; F. Halkin, *Novum Auctarium Bibliothecae hagiographicae graecae*, Bruxelles 1984 (Subsidia hagiographica 65); B. Pirone, *Vita di Mosè l'Etiop*, in *Studia Orientalia Christiana, Collectanea* 24 (1991), pp. 7-63.

²¹ La tradizione breve è riportata in due dei tre testimoni coevi criptensi (Δ.α. XII; Δ.α. XVIII); nell'ultimo, il Δ.α. XXIII, la santa è presente nell'ufficiatura dedicata a Taddeo.

ad Agatonico e si estende fino al r. 45, che coincide con la fine del f. 1v. Di Agatonico il frammento tramanda il *cathisma* del quarto tono, seguito da uno stichero del secondo tono plagale; infine il canone del quarto tono che si presenta mutilo, costituito solo dai tre tropari dell'ode prima. Il f. 2r riporta l'ufficio del santo Pemen; il testo, mutilo, inizia con la parte finale di uno stichero del primo tono plagale. L'ufficio del mattino continua con il canone del quarto tono plagale, odi 1-9, con omissione del secondo, costituite ognuna da tre tropari e *theotokion* finale. L'ufficio di Pemen occupa dal r. 1 del f. 2r al r. 30 del f. 2v. Dal r. 31 al r. 44, corrispondente alla fine del f. 2v, è compresa una piccola parte dell'ufficio dedicato a Mosè l'Etioppe. Essa è costituita del *cathisma* del terzo tono seguita da due sticheri del secondo tono.

III. Studio codicologico e paleografico

Analisi codicologica

Materia: Pergamena di mediocre qualità, spesso, con molte tracce di umidità. Il colore è giallastro, più chiaro sul lato carne (ff. 1v; 2v); tracce di bulbi piliferi sono presenti sui lati pelo (ff. 1r; 2r); si riscontrano piccole raschiature e buchi all'interno del testo (f. 1r r. 15; f. 1v r. 41).

Dimensioni: Foglio intero (valori massimi attuali): mm 225 × 184;

Tipo di rigatura: Leroy 00A1; mm 1,4 + 210 + 1,5 × 0 + 140 + 40; righe 43/45; interlinea mm 4;

Sistema di rigatura: a secco sul lato pelo.

Esame paleografico

Scrittura del testo

La scrittura dei frammenti è una minuscola dritta, di stilizzazione piuttosto arrotondata. I nuclei delle lettere possono per lo più inscrivere in un quadrato, ma non mancano casi nei quali i corpi fuoriescono dalle parallele ideali che le limitano in altezza²²; *iota* si prolunga verso il basso, in particolare in unione con *delta*²³, mentre *upsilon* seguito da *pi* si presenta ampliato²⁴. Di dimensioni medie sono le aste superiori, quelle inferiori si prolungano negli spazi interlineari tanto da invadere più di una volta la riga inferiore, costringendo il copista a tagliare il suo testo²⁵. I tratti verticali sono spesso caratterizzati da un 'bouletage' più o meno netto²⁶. Le lettere isolate o legate con semplice contatto presentano le forme della minuscola

²² Questo si verifica più spesso al f. 2r: r. 25 διανοίας. Frequenti anche i casi di *kappa* et di *epsilon* maiuscoli, ma in maniera meno netta.

²³ F. 1v, r. 19 καρδίας.

²⁴ F. 1v, r. 36 ὑπὲρ.

²⁵ F. 1v, r. 10 πλά νης; r. 25 ἃ ποκυήσασα; r. 29 ἃ νέσπερον.

²⁶ Ciò è più visibile al f. 2r: si veda le *alpha* finali ai rr. 32 e 33.

tradizionale, ciononostante predominano le forme maiuscole del *kappa*²⁷ e del *lambda*²⁸, frequenti anche quelle di *epsilon*²⁹ e di *eta*³⁰, allo stesso modo del *sigma*, soprattutto a fine di parola³¹. *Alpha*³², *pi*³³ e *omega*³⁴ maiuscoli sono rari, *zeta* si presenta in entrambe le forme minuscola e maiuscola³⁵, *xi*, sempre minuscola, si sviluppa soprattutto verso il basso a scapito della parte superiore, visibilmente ridotta³⁶.

Le legature che implicano fusione e trasformazione non sono numerose: *alpha-gamma*³⁷, *alpha-chi*³⁸, *epsilon-iota*³⁹, *epsilon-xi*⁴⁰, *epsilon-sigma*⁴¹, *epsilon-tau*⁴², *epsilon-chi*⁴³, *sigma-pi*⁴⁴, doppio *sigma* (di cui il secondo aperto)⁴⁵, *sigma-tau* (in legatura tra il termine di una parola e l'inizio della successiva)⁴⁶. Lo scriba non utilizza il doppio *tau* con secondo elemento corsivo (somigliante a un *gamma* minuscolo), neanche *epsilon-ny* e *eta-ny* con *ny* «relevé», nemmeno *epsilon-ypsilon*, fenomeno comune per la maggior parte dei copisti. Egli preferisce legare le lettere per semplice contatto, come per il gruppo *alpha-theta*⁴⁷, *alpha-my*⁴⁸, *alpha-ny*⁴⁹, *alpha-pi*⁵⁰,

²⁷ F. 1v, r. 11 κατά; r. 12 κυησάσης; r. 16 καὶ. Per esempi di minuscola: f. 1v, r. 13 οἰκουμένης; r. 16 ἀκροτάτων.

²⁸ F. 1v, r. 10 εἰδόλων; r. 20 ἀποστόλων r. 25 λόγον. Esempio di minuscola: f. 1v, r. 35 κατάλληλον (ultima *lambda*).

²⁹ Maiuscola: f. 1v, rr. 8 e 17 θαδδαίε; r. 29 ἀγαθόνικε; minuscola: f. 1v, r. 18 ἔνδοξε.

³⁰ Maiuscola: f. 1v, r. 10 πλάνης; r. 13 τήν; r. 21 δυσώπη; minuscola: f. 1v, r. 13 οἰκουμένην; r. 19 εὐφημοῦντων.

³¹ F. 1v, r. 14 τάχους; r. 40 πρὸς.

³² F. 1v, r. 25 ἀπὸ.

³³ F. 1v, r. 25 ἀπὸ.

³⁴ F. 1v, r. 16 ἀκροτάτων.

³⁵ Maiuscola: f. 1v, r. 11 δοξάζεται; r. 17 ἐγγήζων; minuscola: f. 1v, r. 19 εὐωδιάζων; r. 28 ζόφω.

³⁶ F. 1v, r. 11 δοξάζεται.

³⁷ F. 1v, r. 25 πανάγαθον.

³⁸ F. 2r, r. 26 στάχυν.

³⁹ F. 1v, r. 13 ἀεὶ.

⁴⁰ F. 1v, r. 46 ἀπεξεδύσω.

⁴¹ F. 1v, r. 34 δέσμοις.

⁴² F. 1v, r. 16 ἐφετῶν; r. 18 ἀρεταῖς.

⁴³ F. 2r, r. 22 ἐχρημάτησας.

⁴⁴ F. 1v, r. 43 ὥσπερ.

⁴⁵ F. 1v, r. 40 πόδας σου.

⁴⁶ F. 1v, r. 22 τὰς τῶν.

⁴⁷ F. 1v, r. 27 ἀποκαθάρας.

⁴⁸ F. 1v, r. 24 ἀμαρτίαις.

⁴⁹ F. 1v, r. 28 πάνσοφε.

⁵⁰ F. 1v, r. 30 ἀπαύστως; r. 46 ἀπιστείας.

*alpha-sigma*⁵¹, *alpha-tau*⁵². Succede che egli avvicini due lettere al punto di “incollarle”, come *lambda-alpha*⁵³, *lambda-epsilon*⁵⁴, *lambda-eta*⁵⁵, *lambda-omicron*⁵⁶, *lambda-oméga*⁵⁷, *thèta-alpha*⁵⁸, *pi-alpha*⁵⁹, *pi-epsilon*⁶⁰, *thèta-epsilon*⁶¹, *thèta-epsilon-iota*⁶², *pi-epsilon-iota*⁶³. Il tutto offre l'impressione di una scrittura eseguita da un copista con capacità grafiche limitate.

Gli spiriti sono di forma angolosa: L⁶⁴ o J⁶⁵: la seconda forma, più frequente, è di dimensioni ridotte; si riscontra talvolta la tendenza ad arrotondare gli spiriti⁶⁶. Come accade per molti copisti, non è rara la confusione tra spirito aspro e dolce⁶⁷. Alcuni spiriti si presentano al centro delle parole, posizionati sulla vocale iniziale della sillaba⁶⁸.

Gli accenti sono di media dimensione; sulla sillaba finale essi sono riportati sulla destra e si situano per lo più sulla consonante⁶⁹. Si rileva un caso ove l'accento precede lo spirito dolce⁷⁰, particolarità che sarà ripresa e diffusa tra XI e XII secolo nello ‘stile di Rossano’.

La scrittura de frammenti si colloca nel solco delle tipologie attestate in Calabria tra la fine del X e la prima metà dell'XI secolo. La tendenza grafica è meno tipizzata rispetto a stilizzazioni più nette come la piccola niliana delle origini, la scrittura «ad asso di picche», il «tipo «Anastasio» e la scrittura «a zampette»⁷¹. Si tratta di una scrittura caratterizzata da un

⁵¹ F. 1v, r. 22 τὰς τῶν.

⁵² F. 1v, r. 20 ἀσωμάτων.

⁵³ F. 1v, r. 10 πλάνης.

⁵⁴ F. 2v, r. 24 ἀνέτειλεν.

⁵⁵ F. 1v, r. 33 ἀθλήν.

⁵⁶ F. 1v, r. 25 λόγον.

⁵⁷ F. 1v, r. 10 εἰδόλων.

⁵⁸ F. 1v, r. 13 θαυδαίε; r. 27 ἀποκαθάρας.

⁵⁹ F. 2r, r. 8 ἀπαθείας.

⁶⁰ F. 1v, r. 29 ἀνέσπερον.

⁶¹ F. 1v, r. 24 παρθένε.

⁶² F. 1v, r. 16 θείας.

⁶³ F. 2r, r. 33 ἐταπείνωσας.

⁶⁴ F. 1v, r. 30 ἡμῶν.

⁶⁵ F. 1v, r. 30 ἀπαύστως.

⁶⁶ F. 1v, r. 36 ἱέραν.

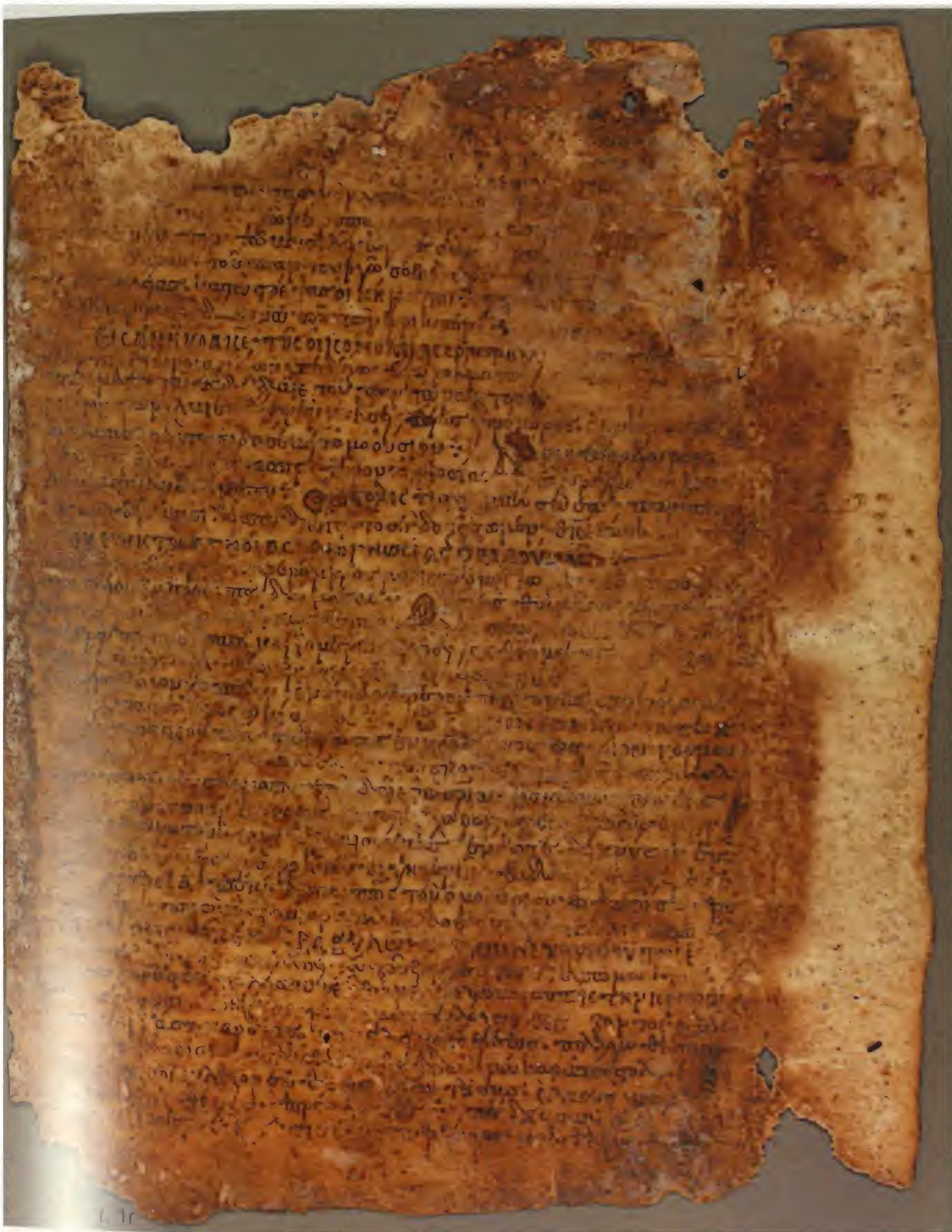
⁶⁷ F. 1v, r. 29 ὄθεν.

⁶⁸ F. 1v, r. 36 ἱέραν.

⁶⁹ F. 1v, r. 24 ταῖς.

⁷⁰ F. 1v, r. 33 ἔησας.

⁷¹ Sulle scritture tipo «Anastasio», ad «asso di picche» e niliana, si veda L. Perria, *Γραφίς. Per una storia della scrittura greca libraria (secoli IV a. C. – XVI d. C.)*, Università degli Studi di Roma ‘Tor Vergata’ – Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana 2011, rispettivamente pp. 80-81; 105-107; 106-108. Sulla scrittura a zampette si veda S. Lucà, *Scritture e libri della «scuola niliana»*, in *Scritture, libri e testi nelle aree provinciali di Bisanzio*. Atti del seminario di Erice



Archivio Carrano di Teggiano, frammento di un Meneo di agosto, f. 1r.

f. 1v

[illegible]

asse verticale, con una tendenza generale all'equilibrio, ovvero una scrittura non troppo angolosa, o arrotondata, neanche troppo distesa o serrata, ma connotata da una certa rigidità. Essa privilegia altresì le forme e le legature della minuscola antica; non esclude le forme maiuscole, ma le limita e le disciplina. L'assenza di una stilizzazione ben definita non facilita l'individuazione dei manoscritti utili alla comparazione, e nello specifico, non risulta agevole l'analisi paleografica dettagliata dei testimoni, analisi che non rientra nei limiti del presente studio. Ci si limita pertanto a proporre due esempi di scrittura, le quali, sotto vari punti di vista, mostrano visibili affinità con quella dei frammenti. Si tratta del Laur. 75.3, specificamente della prima mano, e del Vat. gr. 2024.

Il primo manoscritto contiene una interessante miscellanea di contenuto medico, opera di tre copisti⁷². La scrittura del primo è stata descritta da S. Lucà: «minuscola contraddistinta da asse diritto, disegno arrotondato, frequenti 'bouletages', databile tra la fine del sec. X e l'inizio del sec. XI e di più che probabile origine calabro-settentrionale»⁷³. L'andamento generale della scrittura come anche l'equilibrio delle sue forme richiama senza dubbio la scrittura dei frammenti. Si riscontra la medesima forma maiuscola di *kappa*, *lambda*, *epsilon*, *eta*, *sigma*, e in rari casi quella di *pi*. In particolare, sono identiche le forme di *xi* e del καί tachigrafico. Da notare anche i quattro punti in losanga a fine di paragrafo. Il manoscritto è interessante non solo perché la seconda mano utilizza lo stile «en as de pique», ma soprattutto per la presenza di una nota in scrittura beneventana, che ha ispirato a S. Lucà le seguenti considerazioni: «Quanto alla localizzazione [del manoscritto] scrittura, ornamentazione, aspetto tecnico rimandano alla Calabria settentrionale, ma la nota summenzionata in beneventana evoca il *milieu* calabro-campano, dove appunto i monaci esuli calabresi operarono dagli anni ottanta del sec. X sino almeno agli anni trenta del sec. XI»⁷⁴.

Il Vat. gr. 2024 contiene gli *Ascetica* di s. Basilio, nella versione italo-greca detta 'Nilo'⁷⁵. Ad eccezione di qualche foglio, ove essa si mostra più distesa, arrotondata e evoluta (*epsilon* maiuscolo, *ny* inclinato di tipo corsivo),

(18-25 settembre 1988), a cura di G. Cavallo, G. De Gregorio e M. Maniaci, vol. I, Spoleto 1991, pp. 385-386.

⁷² Si veda la scheda di S. Lucà, in *Codici greci dell'Italia meridionale*, a cura di P. Canart - S. Lucà, Roma 2000, pp. 59-60, con le riproduzioni dei fogli in questione.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 60.

⁷⁴ *Ivi.*

⁷⁵ Sul manoscritto: S. Lucà, *Rossano, il Patir e lo stile rossanese. Note per uno studio codicologico-paleografico e storico-culturale*, in RSBn, n.s. 22-23 (1985-1986), pp. 93-170: pp. 138, 139 n. 222, 152 n. 277; Id., *Attività scrittoria e culturale a Rossano da S. Nilo a S. Bartolomeo da Simeri (secoli X-XII)*, in *Atti del Congresso internazionale su S. Nilo di Rossano (28 settembre - 1° ottobre 1986)*, Grottaferrata 1988, pp. 25-73: pp. 29 n. 14, 62, tav. 10.

la scrittura si connette alla corrente sopra definita, mentre Lucà l'avvicina alla scuola calligrafica niliana⁷⁶, riconoscendovi un tipo di niliana «piuttosto slanciato»⁷⁷. L'impressione generale si accosta a quella dei frammenti, ma le forme sono leggermente più angolose e meno numerose le maiuscole, tra esse caratteristico è il *lambda* stretto. Secondo Lucà il manoscritto, che proviene da Carbone, sarebbe stato copiato a Rossano.⁷⁸

In conclusione si propone la datazione dei frammenti tra la fine del secolo X e l'inizio dell'XI e la localizzazione in Calabria, con buona approssimazione in quella settentrionale.

Scrittura distintiva e ornamentazione

La scrittura distintiva è eseguita con l'inchiostro del testo, di colore marrone scuro. Essa è adoperata per i titoli, l'espressione delle date liturgiche e gli irmi. Si tratta di una maiuscola poco abile, dove i tratti angolosi sono più vicini all'ogivale piuttosto che all'alessandrina.

L'ornamentazione si limita alle lettere iniziali, quelle dei titoli e di ciascun tropario⁷⁹. Esse sono disegnate con inchiostro, con tratti semplici o doppi, la maggior parte comprende entrambi (E, H, M, N, Π, T, Ω). Caratteristico dell'Italia meridionale è l'*omicron* a tratto doppio. Le iniziali sono riempite nella pancia di colore: le marginali di rosso o di marrone; le interne di rosso o di verde. Il solo orpello aggiunto al disegno della lettera è rappresentato dai triangoli sospesi alle estremità del tratto orizzontale di *tau*. Le dimensioni delle iniziali variano in limiti assai stretti: in altezza si estendono per un massimo di tre linee di testo. Le iniziali a capo delle righe invadono normalmente lo spazio riservato al testo, raramente esse sono del tutto in *ekthesis*. Queste ultime sono spesso più grandi di quelle disseminate nel testo.

'Mise en page' e interpunzione

Da uno sguardo d'insieme si può sufficientemente constatare che la 'mise en page' è particolarmente compatta. Lo spazio, pur ridotto, compreso tra le linee, è sempre uguale: secondo l'uso dei codici liturgici, il copista non evidenzia la distinzione tra i tropari dei canoni, le altre composizioni (*cathisma* e sticheri) e le varie feste. Risulta evidente che egli cerca di riempire tutta la pagina a sua disposizione, limitandosi però al quadro della

⁷⁶ Lucà, *Rossano*, p. 138.

⁷⁷ Lucà, *Attività*, pp. 28-29.

⁷⁸ Lucà, *Rossano*, p. 152 n. 277.

⁷⁹ Ci si chiede se il titolo generale del volume e l'indicazione dei mesi erano occasione di ornamentazione più sviluppata.

rigatura. Egli fuoriesce da essa solo per scrivere nel margine le indicazioni del modo, come pure i relativi *theotokia*. Tuttavia, quando si tratta di andare o no a capo, le abitudini non sono costanti.

Sul f. 1r il copista va a capo soltanto dopo i titoli o dopo gli incipit degli irmi; perfino lo spazio vuoto dopo l'irno dell'ode terza è occupato dalle ultime parole del *theotokion* dell'ode precedente. Per il fatto che il copista scrive di seguito i tropari, le loro iniziali ornate sono posizionate in differenti luoghi del rigo di scrittura; esse talvolta invadono anche parte della linea inferiore.

Sul f. 1v il copista modifica leggermente la sua 'mise en page': questa volta va a capo alla fine di ogni tropario e, a fortiori, di ciascuna ode, *cathisma* e stichero, nonché prima della nuova ufficiatura. Ma, come nel foglio precedente, egli approfitta due volte dello spazio vuoto lasciato dal titolo per scrivere le ultime parole del tropario precedente ovvero la fine del *cathisma* e dello stichero di Agatonico.

Sul f. 2r, che contiene la fine dello stichero di Pemen e le odi da 1 a 6 del suo canone, il copista a volte va a capo, a volte no, sia che si tratti della fine di un'ode sia di un tropario:

- dall'ode 1 a l'ode 3 e dall'ode 3 a l'ode 4, egli non va a capo;
- dall'ode 4 a l'ode 5, la fine del *theotokion* coincide con la fine del rigo;
- dall'ode 5 a l'ode 6 egli va a capo;
- da tropario a tropario egli varia come per le odi; sembra che vada a capo quando lo spazio lasciato vuoto non è troppo ampio.

Di conseguenza le iniziali ornate sono sparse nel mezzo delle linee.

Sul f. 2v il copista riprende le abitudini del f. 1v ovvero egli va a capo alla fine di ciascun tropario del canone di Pemen, alla fine del canone (prima del titolo dell'ufficiatura di Mosè l'Etiopio) e tra i due sticheri; al contrario egli scrive il titolo degli sticheri sul rigo, riempiendolo, laddove finisce il *cathisma*. Queste variazioni nell'organizzazione dei vuoti non modificano l'impressione dell'insieme, che è quella di una 'mise en page' estremamente 'economica'.

L'interpunzione si limita a due elementi. Il punto semplice segnala prima di tutto la divisione in *kola* all'interno dei tropari; in secondo luogo esso indica le divisioni all'interno dei titoli; tale punto, generalmente molto marcato, anche se non sempre, è posizionato in basso, più spesso in alto, o a metà altezza. I quattro punti in losanga indicano la fine dei tropari, ma non dei titoli.

IV. L'edizione

L'intento primitivo del lavoro era di proporre un'edizione diplomatica del testo contenuto nei frammenti. A causa del loro stato precario, è stato indispensabile il ricorso ad altri testimoni al fine di colmare le lacune e risolvere i numerosi dubbi di lettura. Si è allora deciso di realizzare un'edizione critica dei frammenti, basata su un largo ventaglio di manoscritti, preferibilmente antichi e di origini diverse. Sulla base degli inventari compilati da D. Getov⁸⁰ e da R. Krivko⁸¹, completati dall'esame del catalogo dei frammenti greci del Matenadaran di Erevan e del fondo greco della Biblioteca Nazionale di Sofia, sono stati reperiti ventiquattro manoscritti che contengono tutto o parte dei testi presenti nei frammenti teggianesi⁸². Sono state aggiunte le lezioni di tre edizioni moderne dei Menei. L'edizione si pone provvisoria, perché la scoperta di altri testimoni e lo studio approfondito della struttura delle ufficiature trasmesse dai manoscritti e anche della filiazione di questi potrebbe eventualmente modificare il giustizio sul valore dei testimoni. Sulla base dello studio finora effettuato e sull'edizione critica, il testo dei cathismata, sticheri e canoni tramandato dai frammenti presenta pochi punti dubbi. L'auspicio degli autori è quello di fornire materiali utili per una futura edizione definitiva dei Menei bizantini.

Di seguito l'elenco dei manoscritti e delle edizioni con una breve descrizione sugli aspetti materiali principali e sulle sezioni che contengono le ufficiature di interesse:

1. Erevan, Matenadaran, M 7470 (E)⁸³

Membr., s. XII p. m., mm 355 × 230; contiene un frammento del Meneo di agosto. In esso: Pemen; Mosè l'Etiop (f. 1r-v). L'origine è con buona

⁸⁰ D. Getov, *A Catalogue of Greek Liturgical Manuscripts in the "Ivan Dujčev Centre" for Slavo-Byzantine Studies*, Roma 2007 (OCA 279); del medesimo autore si veda *The unedited Byzantine liturgical canons in the Library of Congress microfilms of the Greek manuscripts in St. Catherine's monastery on Mount Sinai*, in *Bollettino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata*, III serie, 6 (2009), pp. 67-118.

⁸¹ R. Krivko, *A typology of Byzantine office menaia of the ninth-fourteenth centuries*, in *Scrinium* 7,2 (2011), pp. 3-65.

⁸² Non sono stati presi in considerazione: l'Athon. Laur. Δ 17 (XIII s.) e il Sin. gr. 1627 (XVI s.) per difficoltà di reperimento; il Δ. α. LXX perché troppo tardo (XVIII s.); gli Ambrosiani D 65 sup e C 101 sup., il Vat. gr. 779, nei quali vi sono piccole parti dedicate rispettivamente a Taddeo, a Pemen e Mosè e ad Agatonico, non corrispondenti ai testi tramandati dai frammenti; il Vat. gr. 2110 (XI-XVI), poiché non contiene le ufficiature dei santi in questione; il Vind. theol. gr. 33 (XIII) per l'esiguità del testo comparabile con T.

⁸³ R. V. Chétanian, *Catalogne des fragments et manuscrits grecs du Matenadaran d'Erevan*, Turnhout 2008, pp. 152-154.

approssimazione palestino-cipriota. La scrittura è una piccola minuscola che presenta forti affinità con lo stile 'epsilon arrotondato'⁸⁴.

2. Gerusalemme, Πατριαρχική Βιβλιοθήκη, Sabait. gr. 71⁸⁵ (S71)

Membr., s. XI; mm 242 × 182; ff. 182; contiene Menei di giugno, luglio e agosto. In esso Taddeo (ff. 155r-157v); Agatonico (ff. 157v-160r); Pemen (ff. 168v-171r); Mosè l'Etiope (ff. 171r-173r). È ipotizzabile l'origine palestinese. La scrittura è una piccola minuscola di stampo tradizionale, leggermente inclinata a destra.

3. Gerusalemme, Πατριαρχική Βιβλιοθήκη, Sabait. gr. 208⁸⁶ (S208)

Membr., s. XII; mm 263 × 165; ff. 155; contiene Menei di marzo-agosto. In esso: Taddeo (f. 133v); Agatonico (ff. 134-135r). È ipotizzabile l'origine palestinese.

4. Grottaferrata, Biblioteca della Badia, Crypt. Δ. α. XII⁸⁷ (Δ.α. XII)

Membr., s. XII *in.*; mm 230 × 150; ff. 174; contiene il Meneio di agosto. In esso: Taddeo (ff. 107v-110r); Agatonico (ff. 110r-115v); Pemen (ff. 137r-141r); Mosè (ff. 141r-143r). Il manoscritto, vergato per mano di Sofronio, uno degli *scriptores* del monastero criptense sotto l'abate Nicola, presenta una scrittura di 'stile rossanese'.

⁸⁴ Sul questo si veda. P. Canart, *Les écritures livresques chypriotes du milieu du XI^e siècle au milieu du XIII^e et le style palestino-chypriote «epsilon»*, in *Scrittura e Civiltà* 5 (1981), pp. 17-76 (rist. in P. Canart, *Études de paléographie et de codicologie*, reproduites avec la collaboration de M. L. Agati et M. D'Agostino, Città del Vaticano 2008, I (Studi e testi, 450), pp. 677-747.

⁸⁵ A. I. Papadopoulos-Kérameus, 'Ιεροσολυμιτική βιβλιοθήκη ἤτοι κατάλογος τῶν ἐν ταῖς βιβλιοθήκαις τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου ἀποστολικοῦ τε καὶ καθολικοῦ ὀρθοδόξου πατριαρχικοῦ θρόνου των 'Ιεροσολύμων καὶ πάσης Παλαιστίνης ἀποκειμένων ἐλληνικῶν κωδίκων, t. II, 1, en Petropolei 1894, pp. 128-129.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 320-322.

⁸⁷ A. Rocchi, *Codices Cryptenses seu abbatiae Cryptae Ferratae*, Tusculani 1883, pp. 310-312; Lucà, *Manoscritti rossanesi conservati a Grottaferrata*. Mostra in occasione del Congresso internazionale su S. Nilo di Rossano, Rossano 28 settembre – 1 ottobre 1986, Grottaferrata 1986, p. 50; 74; 75. Del medesimo autore ancora, *Membra disiecta del Vat. gr. 2110*, in *Bollettino della Badia Greca di Grotteferrata* 43 (1989), p. 21 e n. 85; *Su origine e datazione del Crypt. B.β.VII (ff. 1-9)*, in *Tra Oriente e Occidente. Scritture e libri greci fra le regioni orientali di Bisanzio e l'Italia*, Roma 2003 (Testi e studi bizantino-neoellenici), p. 148 n. 158; *Scritture e libri in Terra d'Otranto fra XI e XII secolo*, in *Bizantini, Longobardi e Arabi in Puglia nell'alto medioevo*. Atti del XX Congresso internazionale di studio sull'alto medioevo, Spoleto 2012, p. 517 n. 97, 520 n. 104.

5. Grottaferrata, Biblioteca della Badia, Crypt. Δ.α. XVIII⁸⁸ (Δ.α. XVIII)

Membr., s. XII *in.*; mm 230 × 190; ff. (III) 72; i ff. 1-69 costituiscono la parte originaria del codice, ad esso sono stati aggiunti i ff. 70-72 in pergamena (s. XII) e i ff. 58^a-58^m in carta (s. XV-XVI); contiene il Meneo di agosto. In esso: Taddeo (ff. 46v-48r); Agatonico (ff. 48r-50r); Pemen (ff. 58v-60r); Mosè (f. 60r). Il manoscritto è originario della Calabria del Nord e la scrittura originaria è in 'stile rossanese'.

6. Grottaferrata, Biblioteca della Badia, Crypt. Δ.α. XXIII⁸⁹ (Δ.α. XXIII)

Membr., s. XI-XII; mm 240 × 180; ff. 230; contiene i Menei di giugno, luglio e agosto. In esso: Bassa/Taddeo (ff. 208v-210r); Agatonico (ff. 210r-213v); Pemen (ff. 223v-225v); Mosè l'Etiopico (ff. 225v-226r). Il manoscritto è originario del monastero dei Ss. Elia e Anastasio del Carbone, la scrittura è una minuscola 'calabro lucana'.

7. Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, Matrit. 4694⁹⁰ (Mat)

Membr. s. XII, mm 245 × 190, ff. 222; contiene i Menei di giugno, luglio e agosto. In esso: Taddeo (ff. 202v-204v); Agatonico (ff. 207v-209r); Pemen (ff. 219r-221r); Mosè (ff. 221r-222v). Il manoscritto è originario della Calabria del Sud o Sicilia del nord-est; la scrittura è in 'stile di Reggio'.

8. Messina, Biblioteca Universitaria (Fondo San Salvatore), Messan. gr. 136⁹¹ (Me₁)

Membr., s. XIII *ex.*; mm 225 × 185; ff. 353; contiene una selezione di Menei. In esso: Taddeo (ff. 299r-303r). Il manoscritto è stato copiato da Macario di Reggio per lo *skeuophylax* Giacomo del monastero del S. Salvatore di Messina tra il 1277 e il 1279/80 ca.⁹²; la scrittura è derivata dallo 'stile di Reggio'.

⁸⁸ pp. 319-320. Per una descrizione dettagliata del codice e della scrittura si rinvia a Lucà, *Manoscritti*, pp. 58-59.

⁸⁹ Rocchi, *Codices*, pp. 323-325. Si veda anche Lucà, *Rossano*, pp. 99 n. 23, 103, 160; Id., *Su origine e datazione*, n. 73, pp. 184, 188, 198; Id., *Scritture e libri in Terra d'Otranto*, p. 514 n. 88.

⁹⁰ G. De Andrés, *Catalogo de los codices griegos de la Biblioteca Nacional*, Madrid 1986, pp. 254-255; Lucà *Dalle collezioni manoscritte di Spagna. Libri originari o provenienti dall'Italia greca medievale*, in RSBn n.s. 44 (2007), pp. 53, n. 34, pp. 69-70 n. 69.

⁹¹ A. Mancini, *Codices Graeci Monasterii Messanensis S. Salvatoris*, Messanae 1907 (Atti dell'Accademia Peloritana, 22, 2), p. 198. M. T. Rodriguez, *Bibliografia dei manoscritti greci del fondo del SS. Salvatore di Messina*, Roma 2002 (Testi e studi bizantino-neoellenici, 12), pp. 249-250.

⁹² Cfr. Lucà, *Membra disiecta*, p. 256, n. 110.

9. Messina, Biblioteca Universitaria (Fondo San Salvatore), Messan. gr. 140⁹³ (Me₂)

Membr., s. XII a. m.; mm 260 × 210; ff. 198; contiene i Menei di luglio e agosto (parte primitiva ff. 14-166). In esso: Agatonico (ff. 144v-155v); Pemen (ff. 155v-157v); Mosè l'Etiopio (ff. 158r-159r). L'origine del manoscritto si colloca nella Calabria del Sud e Sicilia nord-est. La scrittura è in 'stile di Reggio'.

10. Parigi, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris. Coisl. 218⁹⁴ (C)

Membr., mm 260 × 200, i ff. 1-190 risalgono al s. XI; i ff. 190-231 al XII s., totale ff. 234; contiene i Menei di agosto ai ff. 1-190; ai ff. 191-231 menologio di agosto con altre sezioni liturgiche. In esso: Taddeo (ff. 127r-129r); Agatonico (ff. 135r-138v); Pemen (ff. 161v-164r); Mosè l'Etiopio (ff. 165v-168v). L'origine del manoscritto è sconosciuta, la scrittura è una Perlschrift evoluta⁹⁵.

11. Parigi, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris. gr. 245⁹⁶ (P₁)

Membr., s. XIII, mm 266 × 180; pp. 406, palinsesto; contiene i Menei di giugno-agosto. In esso: Agatonico (pp. 363-368); Pemen (pp. 384-387); Mosè l'Etiopio (pp. 387-398). Probabile è l'origine provinciale del manoscritto; la scrittura è un minuscola arrotondata tradizionale, leggermente schiacciata, non facilmente localizzabile.

12. Parigi, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris. gr. 1568⁹⁷ (P₂)

Cart., s. XV; mm 290 × 214; ff. 230; contiene i Menei di agosto. In esso: Taddeo (f. 149r-154r); Agatonico (ff. 154r-160r); Pemen (ff. 190r-196r); Mosè l'Etiopio (ff. 196r-200r).

13. Parigi, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris. gr. 1575⁹⁸ (P₃)

Membr., s. XII p. m.; mm 290 × 189; ff. 221; contiene i Menei di marzo-agosto con sinassari. In esso: Taddeo (ff. 210r-210v); Agatonico (ff. 210v-211v); Pemen (ff. 215v-216v); Mosè l'Etiopio (ff. 216v-217r). L'origine del

⁹³ Mancini, *Codices*, pp. 200-201; Rodriguez, *Bibliografia*, pp. 252-253.

⁹⁴ R. Devreesse, *Le fonds Coislins*, Paris 1945 (Bibliothèque nationale. Département des manuscrits. Catalogue des manuscrits grecs II), pp. 199-200.

⁹⁵ Cfr. L. Perria, *Γραφίς. Per una storia della scrittura greca libraria (secoli IV a. C. – XVI d. C.)*, Roma, Università degli Studi di Roma «Tor Vergata» – Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana 2011, pp. 92-96.

⁹⁶ H. Omont, *Inventaire sommaire de la Bibliothèque nationale*, Paris 1898, I, p. 27.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, II, p. 98.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

manoscritto è palestino-cipriota; la scrittura è di stile 'epsilon arrotondato'⁹⁹.

14. Parigi, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris. gr. 1617¹⁰⁰ (P₄)

Membr., a. 1071; mm 253 × 200; ff. 208; contiene i Menei di agosto. In esso: Taddeo (f. 193r-v), Agatonico f. 195r-v). Il manoscritto è opera del monaco Cirillo per l'egumeno Nicola e proviene da un monastero dell'Asia Minore. La scrittura è vicina alla Perlschrift.

15. Sinai, Movḥ tḥs 'Aγίας Aikatepínhs, Sinait. gr. 630¹⁰¹ (S630)

Membr. s. XIII; mm 320 × 220; ff. 198; contiene i Menei di giugno, luglio, agosto. In esso: Agatonico (ff. 173v-175r); Pemen (ff. 185v-187r); Mosè (ff. 187r-188r).

16. Sinai, Movḥ tḥs 'Aγίας Aikatepínhs, Sinait. gr. 632¹⁰² (S632)

Membr. ss. XI-XII; mm 272 × 210; ff. 209; contiene il Meneo di agosto. In esso: Taddeo (ff. 116r-120r); Agatonico (ff. 121v-125v); Pemen (ff. 152r-158v); Mosè (ff. 155r-159r).

17. Sofia, Institut za c'rhovna istorija, EHAI 400¹⁰³ (SP₁)

Membr. s. XIII p. m. – XIV a. m., mm 340 × 250; pp. 756; contiene i Menei di settembre-febbraio; marzo-agosto. In esso: Taddeo (pp. 721-722); Agatonico (pp. 722-723: non corrisponde con T); Pemen (pp. 727-728); Mosè l'Etiope (pp. 728-729). L'origine del manoscritto è sconosciuta, la scrittura è una minuscola esuberante con effetti 'Fettaugen'¹⁰⁴.

18. Sofia, Narodna Biblioteka 'Sv. Sv. Kiril i Metodij', NBKM 22¹⁰⁵ (SP₂)

Membr., ss. XII-XIII, mm 300 × 220; ff. 81; contiene il Meneo di agosto. In esso: Pemen (ff. 72r-73v); Mosè l'Etiope (73v-75r). La scrittura è una

⁹⁹ P. Canart, *Les écritures livresques*, pp. 57, 59 n. 159, 68, 74, rist. pp. 717, 719 n. 159, 728, 734.

¹⁰⁰ K. and S. Lake, *Dated Greek minuscule manuscripts to the year 1200*, V, Boston 1936 (Monumenta Paleographica Vetera, first series), p. 9; Omont, *Inventaire*, III, p. 107.

¹⁰¹ V. Gardthausen, *Catalogus codicum graecorum Sinaiticorum*, Oxford 1886, p. 146.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*

¹⁰³ D. Getov, *A Checklist of the Greek Manuscript Collection at the Ecclesiastical Historical and Archival Institute of the Patriarchate of Bulgaria*, Sofija 1997, p. 8.

¹⁰⁴ H. Hunger, *Die sogenannte Fettaugen-Mode in griechischen Handschriften des 13. und 14. Jahrhunderts*, in *Byzantinische Forschungen* 4 (1972), pp. 105-113 (rist. in Id., *Byzantinistische Grundlagenforschung*, London 1973 [Variorum Reprints], n° II).

¹⁰⁵ M. Stojanov, *Codices Graeci manuscripti Bibliothecae "Cyrilli et Methodii" Serdicensis*, Sofija 1973.

piccola minuscola arrotondata di difficile localizzazione, forse di area provinciale.

19. Teggiano, Archivio Carrano (T)

Membr., s. X-XI, mm 246 × 200 circa; ff. 2; contiene frammenti del Meneio di agosto. In esso: Taddeo (f. 1rv); Agatonico (f. 1v); Pemen (2rv); Mosè l'Etiopio (f. 2v). È ipotizzabile che il manoscritto originario sia stato realizzato in Calabria del Nord. La scrittura è una minuscola calabrese arcaica, leggermente rigida.

20. Vaticano (Città del), Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 787¹⁰⁶ (Vat 787)

Membr., s. XIV; mm 315 × 225; ff. 229; contiene i Menei di maggio-agosto (ff. 168-229v). In esso: Agatonico (ff. 210v-212v); Pemen (ff. 220r-221v); Mosè l'Etiopio (ff. 221v-222v).

21. Vaticano (Città del), Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 1560¹⁰⁷ (Vat 1560)

Cart., s. XVI *in.*; mm 215 × 145; ff. IV-173; contiene il Meneio di agosto con sinassari. In esso: Taddeo (ff. 116r-120v); Agatonico (ff. 120v-123v); Pemen (ff. 139v-143r); Mosè l'Etiopio (ff. 143r-146v). Codice copiato da Nicolaos Aghiomaures in Grecia, la scrittura è un' erudita esuberante.

22. Vaticano (Città del), Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 2288¹⁰⁸ (Vat 2288)

Cart., s. XV; mm 300 × 210; ff. 180, contiene i Menei dal 6 giugno al 29 agosto. L'intera compagine del manoscritto è stato sottoposto a un restauro. In esso: Taddeo (ff. 163r-164v); Agatonico (ff. 164v-166v); Pemen (ff.

¹⁰⁶ R. Devreesse, *Codices Vaticani Graeci. III. Codices 604-866*, in *Bibliotheca Vaticana* 1950, pp. 304-305; P. Canart – V. Peri, *Sussidi bibliografici per i manoscritti greci della Biblioteca Vaticana*, Città del Vaticano 1970 (Studi e testi, 261), p. 483; M. Buonocore, *Bibliografia dei fondi manoscritti della Biblioteca Vaticana (1968-1980)*, Città del Vaticano 1986, II (Studi e testi, 319), p. 853; M. Ceresa, *Bibliografia dei fondi manoscritti della Biblioteca Vaticana (1991-2000)*, Città del Vaticano 2005 (Studi e testi, 426), p. 549.

¹⁰⁷ C. Giannelli, *Codices Vaticani Graeci. Codices 1485-1683*, in *Bibliotheca Vaticana* 1950, pp. 151-152; E. Gamillscheg – D. Harlfinger – P. Eleuteri, *Repertorium der griechischen Kopisten 800-1600. 3. Teil. Handschriften aus Bibliotheken Roms mit dem Vatikan. A-C*, Wien 1997 (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Byzantinistik, III/3 A-C), n° 498; Canart – Peri, *Sussidi*, p. 608; Buonocore, *Bibliografia*, II, p. 906.

¹⁰⁸ I. Cozza Luzi, *Inventarium codicum Graecorum Bibliothecae Vaticanae a 1501 ad 2402* (Biblioth. Vat., Sala cons. mss 324 rosso), f. 227v; M. Ceresa, *Bibliografia dei fondi manoscritti della Biblioteca Vaticana (1981-1985)*, Città del Vaticano 1991 (Studi e testi, 342), p. 426.

175r-176r); Mosè l'Etiope (ff. 176v-178v). L'origine è sconosciuta, la scrittura del codice è abile, caratterizzato da molte abbreviazioni.

23. Vaticano (Città del), Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 2292¹⁰⁹ (Vat 2292)

Cart., s. XVI; mm 210 × 155; ff. 172; contiene il Meneo di agosto. I ff. 1a-6 e 168-172 sono stati restaurati; i ff. 169-172 sono piccoli frammenti restaurati su fogli cartacei. In esso: Agatonico (ff. 141v-147r). L'origine del codice è sconosciuta, la scrittura è arcaizzante.

24. Vaticano (Città del), Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 2308 (Vat 2308)

Cart. s. XIII, mm 250 × 173, ff. 1-272; contiene i Menei di giugno, luglio, agosto (*inc.* mutilo nell'ufficiatura del 23 giugno, *des.* mutilo nell'ufficiatura del 26 agosto. In esso: Taddeo (ff. 258v-260v); Agatonico (260v-263r). L'origine del codice è cipriota, come attesta la legatura del manoscritto; la carta è araba orientale. La scrittura è una minuscola di stampo tradizionale, un po' schiacciata, con analogie con la scrittura cipriota 'carrée'¹¹⁰.

25. Venezia, Biblioteca Nazionale di S. Marco, Marc. gr. II 137b¹¹¹ (Ma)

Cart., s. XVI, mm 202 × 150; ff. 159 (+81bis), contiene il Meneo di agosto. In esso: Taddeo (ff. 134v-140r); Agatonico (ff. 140v-144v); Pemen (ff. 152v-156v); Mosè l'Etiope (ff. 156v-159v). L'origine del codice è sconosciuta.

In esso: Taddeo (pp. 104-111); Agatonico (pp. 111-117); Pemen (pp. 134-137); Mosè l'Etiope (pp. 137-140).

¹⁰⁹ Cozza Luzi, *Inventarium*, f. 229v; Canart – Peri, *Sussidi*, p. 700; Buonocore, *Bibliografia*, II, p. 969.

¹¹⁰ Per questo Canart, *Les écritures livresques*, p. 41 n. 55 (rist. p. 867 n. 55); P. Canart – D. Grosdidier de Matons – Ph. Hoffmann, *L'analyse technique des reliures byzantines et la détermination de leur origine géographique (Constantinople, Crète, Chypre, Grèce)*, in *Scritture, libri e testi nelle aree provinciali di Bisanzio*. Atti del seminario di Erice (18-25 settembre 1988), a cura di G. Cavallo – G. De Gregorio – M. Maniacci, Spoleto 1991 (Biblioteca del 'Centro per il collegamento degli studi medievali e umanistici dell'Università di Perugia', 5), p. 764 n. 36 (rist. p. 920 n. 36); G. Carbonaro, *Il Vaticano greco 2308. Note codicologiche e paleografiche*, in *Bollettino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata* n.s. 49-50 (1995-1996), pp. 280-287; Canart – Peri, *Sussidi*, p. 701; Buonocore, *Bibliografia*, II, p. 970; Ceresa, *Bibliografia ... (1991-2000)*, p. 584.

¹¹¹ E. Mioni, *Codices Graeci manuscripti Bibliothecae Divi Marci Venetiarum*, vol I, pars altera, Roma 1972 (Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione. Indici e cataloghi, N. S., VI), pp. 30-31.

Edizioni moderne

1. Atene, *Μηναῖον τοῦ αὐγούστου* (A)¹¹²

In esso: Taddeo (pp. 112-118); Agatonico (pp. 118-124); Pemen (pp.141-144); Mosè l'Etiope (pp. 144-147).

2. Roma, *Μηναῖα τοῦ ὅλου ἐνιαυτοῦ* (R)¹¹³

In esso: Taddeo (pp. 462-473); Agatonico (pp. 473-484); Pemen (pp. 515-517); Mosè l'Etiope (pp. 517-522).

3. Venezia, *Μηναῖον τοῦ αὐγούστου* (V)¹¹⁴

Di seguito la tabella sinottica mostra le ufficiature dei santi presenti nei singoli manoscritti utilizzati per la collazione:

Mss	Taddeo	Agatonico	Pemen	Mosè l'Etiope
C	X	X	X	X
Δ.α. XII	X	X	X	X
Δ.α. XVIII	X	X	X	X
Δ.α. XXIII	X	X	X	X
E	0	0	X	X
Ma	X	X	X	0
Mat	X	X	X	X
Me ₁	X	0	0	0
Me ₂	0	X	X	X
P ₁	0	X	X	0
P ₂	X	X	X	0
P ₃	X	X	0	0
P ₄	X	X	X	0
S208	X	X	0	0
S630	0	X	0	0
S632	X	X	X	X
S71	X	X	X	X
SP ₁	X	X	X	X
SP ₂	0	0	X	0
T	X	X	X	X
Vat 787	0	X	X	0
Vat 1560	X	X	X	0

¹¹² *Μηναῖον τοῦ αὐγούστου*, ἐν Ἀθήναις, 1904.

¹¹³ *Μηναῖα τοῦ ὅλου ἐνιαυτοῦ*, VI, ἐν Ῥώμῃ 1901.

¹¹⁴ *Μηναῖον τοῦ αὐγούστου*, ἐν Βενετίᾳ, 1863.

Vat 2288	X	X	X	X
Vat 2292	0	X	0	0
Vat 2308	X	X	0	0

Si è tenuto in considerazione anche l'apparato critico dell'edizione degli *Analecta hymnica Graeca*¹¹⁵; il riscontro è stato possibile solo per l'ufficio di Agatonico, unico tra i quattro santi presente nell'edizione. Nello specifico, si tratta del *cathisma* del quarto tono, *inc.* Τὸ ὀπτικόν σου (v. 181) e del canone del quarto tono, *inc.* Ἐν τῇ λαμπρότητι, μάρτυς (v. 195), che in T si presenta mutilo degli ultimi versi del terzo tropario e del *theotokion*.

Dalla collazione effettuata risulta una decisiva familiarità di T con i codici criptensi; essa ruota intorno a due elementi¹¹⁶:

- contiguità cronologica degli aspetti paleografici e codicologici (XI-XII s.);
- contiguità del testo tramandato, la sua disposizione e l'ampiezza delle ufficiature contenute¹¹⁷. In particolare, sono state registrate affinità evidenti tra T e i criptensi Δ. α. XVIII e Δ. α. XXIII: tutti presentano in maniera estesa le sezioni relative a Taddeo e a Pemen; analogamente essi tramandano testi più ridotti per Agatonico e Mosè.

Le differenze nella composizione delle ufficiature sono analizzate in maniera dettagliata per i manoscritti criptensi:

Δ. α. XII

L'ufficio in onore di Taddeo occupa i ff. 107v-110r. Il canone è il medesimo di T; in più il criptense presenta il *cathisma* dopo la terza ode e il *kontakion* dopo la sesta. Sono state registrate tredici varianti del testo.

¹¹⁵ *Analecta hymnica Graeca e codicibus eruta Italiae inferioris*, Ioseph Schirò consilio et ductu edita, v. 12, *Canones Augusti*, Alcestis Proiou collegit et instruxit, Roma 1980, pp. 298-299; 310-311.

¹¹⁶ Nel suo studio Krivko analizza nel dettaglio i contenuti dei criptensi Δ. α. XXIII e Δ. α. XII. Il primo, datato all'XI s. è posto dallo studioso tra i testimoni dell'area arcaico-periferica, caratterizzata da una tradizione decurtata dall'uso del *kontakion* e di *exaposteilaria*, in accordo con la pratica liturgica palestinese prima della seconda metà del IX secolo. Tale specificità contestualizza il criptense nell'area di produzione italo-greca dell'XI, laddove persistono tradizioni liturgiche arcaiche. Il secondo è collocato nell'area centrale arcaica, a cavallo tra XI e XII secolo; esso si pone nel solco del *typicon* del monastero della *Theotokos Euerghetes* fondato nella seconda metà dell'XI secolo e riadattato per le esigenze della liturgia di Grottaferrata, ove il codice fu realizzato. Krivko, *A typology*, pp. 25-29; 43-45.

¹¹⁷ La maggiore o minore estensione di testi attesta le tradizioni liturgico-religiose privilegiate dalle singole comunità monastiche. Cfr. E. Follieri, *I calendari in metro innografico di Cristoforo Mitileneo*. Introduzione, testo e traduzione, vol. I, Bruxelles 1980 (*Subsidia hagiographica* 63), p. 26.

L'ufficiatura di Agatonico è compresa nei ff. 110r-112r. Essa comincia con lo stichero *inc.* Λόγων θείας γνώσεως, segue il canone *inc.* Εν τῇ λαμπρότητι, μάρτυς, con le odi α' e γ', il *cathisma inc.* Τὸν ὀπτικόν σου, le odi δ', ε', ι', il *kontakion*, infine le odi ζ', η', θ'. Diversamente in T si riscontra un ordine invertito: in *incipit* il *cathisma inc.* Τὸν ὀπτικόν σου, in successione lo stichero *inc.* Λόγων θείας γνώσεως. Segue il canone con l'ode α'. Il resto manca. Le varianti riscontrate sono cinque.

Pemen è trattato nel Δ. α. XII ai ff. 137v-139r. L'ufficiatura presenta una buona corrispondenza tra i due manoscritti. Si comincia nel criptense con i tre sticheri *inc.* Τίς σε νῦν ὀνομάσομεν, Τίς σε νῦν προσφθεγξόμεθα, Λύχνος διακρίσεως γέγονας, seguiti dal *theotokion*. In T è presente solo lo stichero *inc.* Χαίροις τῶν μοναζόντων che non compare in Δ. α. XII. In entrambi segue il canone con le odi α'-θ'; nel criptense è inserito il *cathisma inc.* Ποιμαίνόμενος ὑπὸ κυρίου dopo l'ode γ', seguito dal *theotokion inc.* Θείας φύσεως οὐκ ἐχωρίσθη. Il *kontakion inc.* Τῶν λαμπρῶν ἀγώνων, non presente in T, è inserito dopo il *theotokion* dell'ode ι'. Le varianti del testo sono diciassette.

Per l'ufficio di Mosè, il criptense comincia con i tre sticheri *inc.* Πάσας ἀκανθώδεις ἡδονάς, Πλούτῳ ἀρετῶν κατακωμῶν, Σκότει τῶν παθῶν; segue il canone. T inizia con il *cathisma inc.* Θεῖαν ἔλλαμψιν καταπλουτήσας e seguono due sticheri corrispondenti al primo e al terzo del criptense. È registrata un'unica variante.

Δ. α. XVIII

Taddeo è presente ai ff. 47r-48r. Il testo coincide integralmente in tutta la sua successione delle varie parti. In questa sezione sono registrate ventisei varianti.

Agatonico è presente nel criptense ai ff. 48r-50r. Il testo coincide in parte: esso comincia nel criptense col *cathisma inc.* Τὸν ὀπτικόν σου e seguono tre sticheri *inc.* Πρώτην ἀγαθότητα, Σοφία κοσμούμενος, Αἷματι σταζόμενος, mentre in T è presente solo lo stichero *inc.* Λόγων θείας γνώσεως. Il canone riportato in T coincide con quello del criptense. Le varianti registrate sono sei.

Pemen è presente ai ff. 58v-60r. Nel criptense l'ufficio comincia col *cathisma inc.* Τῶν παθῶν ἡδονάς, seguito dai tre sticheri *inc.* Φέρων ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων, Χαίροις τῶν μοναζόντων, Θέρμη τοῦ Παρακλήτου; dei tre solo il secondo è presente in T. Per ciò che riguarda il canone, le odi α'-γ' e ε'-ι' sono identiche; nell'ode δ' i primi due tropari sono invertiti. Nelle odi ζ', η', θ', i *theotokia* riportati dal criptense sono diversi; essi sono rispettivamente *inc.* Ἴδε πανύμνητε παρθένε, Οὐ πέπραχα ἀγαθὸν, Εὗροι μοι δέσποινα. Si registrano trenta varianti.

L'ufficio di Mosè (f. 60r) comincia nel criptense col *cathisma inc.*

Αἰθιόπων πρόσωπα. Esso contiene tre sticheri, dei quali il primo *inc.* Φόβω τοῦ Χριστοῦ στοιχειωθείς non è presente in T; il secondo e il terzo sono identici a quelli riportati nel frammento di Teggiano. Si presentano nove varianti.

Δ. α. XXIII

L'ultimo dei tre criptensi ha subito grossi danni a causa dell'umidità; pertanto la collazione si è potuta operare solo parzialmente.

Nel criptense l'ufficio del 21 agosto è dedicato a Bassa (ff. 208v- 210r) e corrisponde parzialmente con quello di Taddeo riportato da T. L'ufficiatura comincia col *cathisma* e continua con il canone. Nelle odi α'-ι' non sussiste corrispondenza; essa riprende nelle odi ζ', η', θ', con alcune differenze: nell'ode η' il criptense omette il primo tropario *inc.* Οὐρανὸς ἐφάνης; nell'ode θ' il terzo tropario del criptense differisce da quello riportato in T (vv. 193-197). Sono state riscontrate ventinove varianti.

Agatonico è compreso ai ff. 210r-213v con una minima corrispondenza tra i testi. Analogamente a T, nel criptense Agatonico comincia col *cathisma inc.* Τὸν ὀπτικόν σου e continua con la successione degli sticheri *inc.* Πρώτην ἀγαθότητα, Σοφία κοσμούμενος, Αἷματι σταζόμενος. Non compare lo stichero presente in T *inc.* Λόγων θείας γνώσεως; anche il canone differisce. Si riscontrano tre varianti.

Pemen è compreso ai ff. 223v-225v; per buona parte il testo coincide in maniera quasi totale. Nel criptense è presente la successione dei tre sticheri già registrati per Δ.α XVIII (*inc.* Φέρων ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων, Χαίροις τῶν μοναζόντων, Θέρμη τοῦ Παρακλήτου), mentre T comincia mutilo con il secondo dei tre. Il canone è identico; la collazione registra dodici varianti.

A Mosè l'Etiopie sono dedicati nel criptense i ff. 225v-226r. Il *cathisma* è identico a T, seguono tre sticheri, di cui solo il primo (Φόβω τοῦ Χριστοῦ στοιχειωθείς) non è presente in T¹¹⁸. Nessuna variante nel testo.

V. Il testo

Criteri editoriali

L'apparato critico è costruito su tre livelli. Il primo, di tipo negativo, elenca le varianti testuali. Con il lemma **hirm**, è indicato il rimando all'edizione dell'irmo consultata. Sono omesse le varianti puramente ortografiche come quelle dovute all'itacismo o allo scambio tra vocali brevi e lunghe. Il secondo apparato segnala i manoscritti che contengono porzioni di testi

¹¹⁸ L'edizione degli *Analecta* non si pronunzia in merito al Δ.α. XXIII mentre vengono citati il Δ.α. XII e il Δ.α. XVIII, quest'ultimo considerato 'scorretto' e quindi eliminato dalla collazione. Cfr. Proiou, *Canones Augusti*, p. 508.

difformi o che hanno subito danni materiali. Il terzo livello riporta le fonti scritturali e patristiche.

Nel testo sono restituite le maiuscole per i nomi propri ed è regolarizzata l'interpunzione. Sono adoperate le seguenti sigle rispetto allo stato dei frammenti:

[...]	testo distrutto o illeggibile
αβγ	lettere dubbie
(...)	abbreviazioni per contrazione e sospensione
<...>	integrazioni

Sigle dei manoscritti

Coisl. 218	C
Crypt. Δ. α. XII	Δ.α. XII
Crypt. Δ.α. XVIII	Δ.α. XVIII
Crypt. Δ.α. XXIII	Δ.α. XXIII
M 7470	E
Marc. gr. II 137b	Ma
Matrit. 4694	Mat
Messan. gr. 136	Me ₁
Messan. gr. 140	Me ₂
Paris. gr. 245	P ₁
Paris. gr. 1568	P ₂
Paris. gr. 1575	P ₃
Paris. gr. 1617	P ₄
Sabait. gr. 208	S208
Sinait. gr. 630	S630
Sinait. gr. 632	S632
Sabait. gr. 71	S71
EHAI 400	SP ₁
NBKM 22	SP ₂
Frammenti Archivio Carrano	T
Vat. gr. 787	Vat 787
Vat. gr. 787	Vat 1560
Vat. gr. 2288	Vat 2288
Vat. gr. 2292	Vat 2292
Vat. gr. 2308	Vat 2308

Sigle delle edizioni moderne

Atene, Μηνναῖον τοῦ ἀγούστου	A
Roma, Μηνναῖον τοῦ ἀγούστου	R
Venezia, Μηνναῖον τοῦ ἀγούστου	V

1r <Μηνὶ τῷ αὐτῷ κα΄. Μνήμη τοῦ ἁγίου ἀποστόλου θαδδαίου>

[῾Ωιδὴ γ΄]

[Σὺ εἶ τὸ] στερέ[ωμα]

[Αἴγλη θείας χάριτος]
φωταγωγῶν λαούς, ἔνδ[οξε],
φ[ῶς] καθαρὸν
ῶφθης τοῖς ἐν σκότει]
5 τῷ[ν] δεινῶν ἐνυπάρχουσιν.

ἤασιν [καὶ λύτρω]σιν
[θεουργικαῖς, σοφέ, νεύσεσι]
τῷ βασιλεῖ
ἤγαγες Αὐγ[άρω]
10 π[ρὸς] αὐτὸν ἀφικόμενος.

Οἴκους ἀπετ]έλεσας
τοῦ παντουργοῦ, σοφέ, Πν(εύματο)ς
το[ὺς] γηγενεῖς,
τὰ] τῆς ἀπωλείας
15 καταστρέψας οἰκήματα.

Νόμου π[ροχαράγματα
καὶ προ]φητῶν φων[αί], δ[έσπ]οινα,
σοῦ τὸν φρικτὸν
τόκον [ἀριδὴ]λ[ως
20 θειωτά]τως ἐδ[ήλωσαν].

θεοτ.

hirm. R I 109 3 καθαρὸν: καθ' ὁρῶν Δ. α. XVIII 4 ἐν σκότει]: ἐν κόσμῳ Me₁ 10 π[ρὸς]: πρίν
Vat 1560 11 Οἴκους: Οἶκον Δ.α. XII Δ.α. XVIII 19-20 τόκον ... ἐδ[ήλωσαν] μυστήριον κόρη
κηρύξαντων σαφέστατα Vat 1560 20 θειωτά]τως θεομήτωρ A R V ἐδ[ήλωσαν]: Δ. α. XII Me₁ R SP₁
ἐδήλωσεν Δ. α. XVIII ἐδήλωσας Vat 1560

1-88 [Αἴγλη ... [ἐπ]α[νάγοντα]: *textus in* Δ.α. XXIII *discrepat* 16-20 Νόμου ... ἐδ[ήλωσαν]: *textus*
in Vat 2288 *discrepat*

3-5 2 Rg 1.9 Ioh 1-5 Rm 2.19 2Cor 4-6 17 Mt 11.13

〈Nello stesso mese il giorno 21 agosto. Festa del santo apostolo Taddeo〉

Ode 3

Σὺ εἶ τὸ στερέωμα

Illuminando i popoli
con il raggio della grazia divina,
o glorioso,
apparisti luce pura
a coloro che sono avvolti
nella tenebra del male.

O saggio,
giunto presso di lui
portasti al re Abgar
cura e liberazione
con l'assenso divino.

O saggio,
rendesti i mortali
dimore dello spirito creatore dell'universo
abbattendo
le fortezze della perdizione.

O signora,
le prefigurazioni della Legge
e le voci dei profeti
con chiarezza rivelarono
assai divinamente
il tuo mirifico parto.

theot.

[Ὡιδὴ δ']

Εἰσακήκοα, Κύριε,
τῆς οἰκονομίας σου τὸ μυ(στήριον)

[Ὑψ]ηλ[ήν] τὴν διάνοιαν
ἔχων ὑπεδέξω θεῖα νοήματα
[καὶ] τοῦ Πν(εύματο)ς χα[ρίσμ]ατα,
μαθητὰ θαδδαῖε,
τοῦ Παντάνακτος.

25

[Μυστ]η[ρ]ίων, [π]ανόλβιε,
θείων ἐν μύσει θεῖος γενόμενος,
ἄμυή[τους κατε]φώτισας
τὴν Τρ[ι]άδα σέβειν
ὁμοούσιον.

30

Ν[ό]μον θεῖον ἐχάραξας,
[μάκαρ, ἐ]ν [καρ]δ[ίαις, λεάν]ας πρότερον
ἄγνωσίας τὰ χαράγμ[ατα]
καὶ τῆς δυσσε]βείας
τὰ ἰνδάλματα.

35

Ὡς τὸν κτίστην κυήσασα
πάντω[ν ποιημάτων] ὥφθης βασίλισσα·
διὰ το[ῦ]τό σε δοξάζομεν,
Θ(εοτό)κε μόνη
[ἄειπάρ]θενε.

40

θεοτ.

hirm. R I 97 22 ὑπεδέξω: ὑπεξέθους Δ.α. XVIII 23 χα[ρίσμ]ατα: χαρίσματος Vat 1560 27 ἐν
μύσει: ἐμυήθης Δ.α. XVIII θεῖος: θείας T θεῖον Δ.α. XVIII θεῖα Me₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ S632 θείως R Vat 1560
Vat 2308 μάκαρ A Ma R V 31-35 Ν[ό]μον ... ἰνδάλματα om. Vat 2308 32 ἐ]ν [καρ]δ[ίαις: ἐν
καρδίᾳ Vat 1560 πρότερον: πρόσκαιρον Vat 1560 33 χαράγμ[ατα: χαρίσματα Vat 1560 Vat 2288 τὸ
χάραγμα Ma 34 δυσσε]βείας: ἀσεβείας C Vat 1560 37 βασίλισσα: βασίματα Δ.α. XII 39-40 Θ(εο-
τό)κε μόνη [ἄειπάρ]θενε: παναγία κόρη ἀπειρόγαμε P₂.

23 Rm 1.11

Ode 4

Εἰσακήκοα, Κύριε,
τῆς οἰκονομίας σου τὸ μυστήριον

Avendo un alto pensiero,
accogliesti le intenzioni divine
e le grazie dello Spirito,
discepolo Taddeo.

Reso divino
nell'iniziazione
ai misteri divini,
o beatissimo,
illuminasti quelli non iniziati
perché venerassero la verità consustanziale.

O beato,
imprimesti nei cuori
la legge divina,
dopo aver eliso
i marchi dell'ignoranza
e le forme dell'empietà.

Avendo partorito
il creatore di tutte le creature,
fosti vista come regina,
perciò ti glorifichiamo,
unica sempre vergine,
madre di Dio.

theot.

[᾽Ωιδῇ ε΄]

Ὁ ἐκ νυκτὸς ἀγνοίας
θεογνωσίας φαιδρύνας

[Τὸ τοῦ δεσπότης θεῖον
ἐπι]φερόμενος, μάκαρ, ὁμοίω[μα],
τῷ τοπάρχῃ [Αὐγάρῳ]
θεῖος ἱατρὸς ἐπεδήμησας.

45

Ὁ ἱερὸς Θωμᾶς σε
[μετὰ τὴν θείαν τοῦ Λόγου ἀ]νά[ληψι]ν
κήρυκα ἀποσ[τέλλει],
πάνσοφε Θαδδαῖε, το[ῖς χρή]ζουσ[ιν].

50

Νόσους] δραπετευούσας
καὶ ἰωμένας καρδίας θεώμενος,
[Αὐγαρος ἐπ]ληρώθη
θείου φω[τισμοῦ με]σιτεῖαις σου.

55

[Σεσαρκωμέ]νον Λόγον
διπλὴν ἐνέργειαν φέροντα τέτοκας,
ἀπειρόγαμε [κόρη,
μεί]να[σα παρθένος] ἀμία[ντ]ος.

θεοτ.

᾽Ωιδ(ῇ) ς΄

Τὸν Ἰωνᾶν
ἐν τῷ κήτει

[Ὁ φωτισμὸς]
του Ἀγίου Πν(εύματο)ς,
σκηνώσας ἐν καρδίᾳ σου,

hirm. R III 541 43 τῷ τοπάρχῃ [Αὐγάρῳ]: τοῦ τοπάρχου Αὐγάρου T 45 σε: δὲ Vat 1560 46
μετὰ: καὶ μετὰ Μα Λόγου: δεσπότης Vat 1560 49 Νόσους] ... σου om. Vat 2308 50 θεώμενος: τοῖς
θαύμασι Vat 1560 52 με]σιτεῖαις: μεσιτεῖα C S71 P₂ P₄ S632 Vat 1560 Vat 2288 ἀξιάγασθε Δ.α.
XVIII 53 σεσαρκωμένον Λόγον: σεσαρκωμένον τὸν Λόγον Vat 1560 54 διπλὴν ἐνέργειαν: διπλὴν
τὴν ἐνέργειαν S208 55 [κόρη: κόσμον Vat. 2288 56 ἀμία[ντ]ος: ἀμόλυντος SP₁ Vat 2308.

41-52 Eus. *hist.* I, 13 53-56 Honor. *ep. Serg.* 2 (H. 3.1352E)

Ode 5

Ὁ ἐκ νυκτὸς ἀγνοίας
θεογνωσίας φαιδρύνας

O beato,
portando con te
l'immagine divina del Signore,
ti presentasti come divino medico
al governatore Abgar.

Il santo Tommaso
ti invia come araldo,
dopo l'ascensione del Verbo,
o saggissimo Taddeo, a quelli che lo chiedono.

Abgar, vedendo che le malattie sparivano
e i cuori guarivano,
fu pieno di luce divina
per la tua intercessione.

O vergine inesperta delle nozze, *theot.*
rimanendo vergine pura,
tu hai generato il Verbo fatto carne,
portatore di una duplice energia.

Ode 6

Τὸν Ἰωνᾶν
ἐν τῷ κήτει

O Taddeo,
la luce dello Spirito Santo
accampatosi
nel tuo cuore,

- 60 φωστῆρα
κόσμου σε, [θαδδαῖε,
εἰργάσατο ἀληθῆ,]
τὸν σκοτα[σμὸν
τῆς ἀπάτης λύ[οντα]
- 65 [Φέρων σαρκὶ]
το[ῦ] Χ(ριστο)ῦ τὰ στίγματα,
θαδδαῖε, τὰ σ(ωτή)ρια
ὥς κόσμον,
πάσης [ἀκοσμίας]
- 70 λαοὺς ἐρρύσω, σοφέ,
καὶ πρ[ὸς] χαρὰν
ἡρῆς [ὑπ]ερκόσμιον.
- 75 [Ὅρθρος ἡμῖν]
ἔφανας τὸν [ἥ]λιον
[δικ]αιοσύνης, ἔνδοξε,
δεικνύων·
ἐν ᾧ [φωτισθέν]τες,
υἱοὶ φωτὸς νοητοῦ
οἱ γηγενεῖς,
80 θαδδαῖε, γεγόναμεν.
- [Νέον ἡμῖν] θεοτ.
βρέφος ἀπεκύησας
Π(ατ)ρ(ὸς) τὸν ὁμοούσιον,
φθαρεῖσαν
85 φύ[σι]ν τῶν [ἀν](θρώπ)ων
πρὸς τὸ ἀρχαῖον, ἀ[γν]ή,
κάλλος αὐτὴν
πάλιν [ἐπ]α[νάγοντα].

hirm. R V 283 61 κόσμου: κόσμος Vat 1560 62 ἀληθῆ: ἀληθῶς Vat 1560 69 [ἀκοσμίας]: ἀλογίας S71 71 χαρὰν: χάριν Ma χαρᾶς Vat 1560 72 ἡρῆς [ὑπ]ερκόσμιον: ἡλθες ὑπερκόσμοις Vat 1560 73-80 [Ὅρθρος ... γεγόναμεν om. Vat 2308 74 ἔφανας: ἐφάνης A R V ἐφάνης σοφέ Vat 1560 75 [δικ]αιοσύνης: τῆς δικαιοσύνης Vat 1560 77 ἐν ᾧ: ᾧ καὶ Δ.α. XVIII 78 νοητοῦ: τοῦ νοητοῦ Vat 1560 δι' αὐτοῦ A Ma R V 80 γεγόναμεν: γεγόνασιν Δ.α. XVIII 82 ἀπεκύησας: ἀπεκύητας Δ.α. XVIII 83 Π(ατ)ρ(ὸς): Πατρί Vat 1560 87 αὐτὴν: αὐτῆς P₂ αὐτὸν Vat 2308 88 [ἐπ]α[νάγοντα]: ἐπανορθώσατο Ma

ti fece vera stella
dell'universo,
che dissipa
la tenebra dell'inganno.

O Taddeo,
portando nella carne
le stimmate salvifiche di Cristo,
come ornamento,
liberasti i popoli
da ogni disarmonia,
o saggio,
e ti sollevasti
a gioia oltremondana.

Apparisti
come alba a noi, glorioso,
mostrando
il sole della giustizia,
nel quale, illuminati,
siamo diventati noi,
figli della terra,
figli della luce
di conoscenza spirituale,
o Taddeo.

Tu
concepisti per noi
un bambino nuovo
consustanziale al Padre,
o pura,
che riportò
la natura corrotta
degli uomini
all'antica bellezza.

theot.

[᾽Ωιδῆ ζ']

Παῖδες θεοσεβεῖς ἐν Βαβυλῶνι
εἰκόνι χρυσῇ οὐ προσε[κύνησαν]

90 [θαύματα ἐκτελῶν τῇ ἐπι]κλήσει
Χ(ριστο)ῦ τοῦ φαν[έντ]ος ὕλη σώματος,
[ἐπεσπά]σω λαοὺς τε
καὶ πόλεις, πανεύφημε,
εἰς βεβαίαν πίστιν, κραυγάζοντας·
Εὐ(λογητὸς) [ὁ Θεὸς]
95 <ὁ τῶν Πατέρων ἡμῶν>.

[Ἔστησας ση]πεδόνα [ἀθεΐας]
νο[στί]μων σου λόγων θείῳ ἄ[λα]τι·
καὶ ἰάσω [κ]αρδ[ία]ς
τῷ [β]έλει τοῦ ὄφους
100 πληγωθείσας, μάκαρ ἀπόστολε,
Εὐλο[γητὸς ὁ Θεὸς]
<ὁ τῶν Πατέρων ἡμῶν>.

[Ἦρθης πρὸς ὕψος] θεωρίας
πλησθ[εῖς,] ὦ Θαδδαῖε, θ[είου] Π[ν(εύματο)ς],
105 καὶ σ(ωτήρ)ιον λόγον
ἐνθ[έως ἐπλού]τησας,
καὶ λαοὺς βοᾶν ἐξεπαίδευσας·
Εὐ[λογητὸς ὁ] Θε(ε)ός
<ὁ τῶν Πατέρων ἡμῶν>.

hirm. PaR 89 θαύματα: θαυμάτων Δ.α. XVIII 90 Χ(ριστο)ῦ του φαν[έντ]ος: Κυρίου φανέντος A Ma R V 92 πανεύφημε: αἰοῖδιμε Δ.α. XXIII 94 [ὁ Θεός]: *om.* P₄ Vat. 2288 94-95 Εὐ(λογητὸς) ... ἡμῶν: Εὐλογητὸς ὁ Θεὸς ὁ τῶν Πατέρων ἡμῶν A P₂ R ὁ τῶν Πατέρων ἡμῶν *om.* Δ.α. XVIII Mat Vat 1560 ὁ Θεὸς ὁ τῶν Πατέρων ἡμῶν *om.* Δ.α. XXIII P₃ S71 S208 Vat 2288 Πατέρων ἡμῶν *om.* C Ma S632 Vat 2308 96 [Ἔστησας: Ἔστης SP₁ ση]πεδόνα: ση]πεδόνας P₃ P₄ 97 νο[στί]μων: νοστήμω C γλυκείων Ma 100 πληγωθείσας: πληγωθήσεις Bāssa αἰοῖδιμε Δ.α. XXIII 101-102 Εὐ[λ]ο[γητὸς ... ἡμῶν): Εὐλογητὸς ὁ Θεὸς ὁ τῶν Πατέρων ἡμῶν A Ma P₂ R V εἰ βοῶν ὁ τῶν Πατέρων Θεός Mat βοῶν ὁ τῶν Πατέρων Me₁ Εὐλογητὸς ὁ Θεός S632 ἐκβοῶν ὁ τῶν Πατέρων Θεός SP₁ β]οῶ[ν] ὁ τῶν Πατέρων ἡμῶν *om.* C Δ.α. XVIII Δ.α. XXIII S71 S208 Vat 1560 Vat 2288 ἡμῶν *om.* Vat 2308 Πατέρων ἡμῶν *om.* P₃ 103 [Ἦρθης: Ἦρθην V ὦ Θαδδαῖε: ἐπιπνεῖα θείου παρθένος Δ.α. XXIII 105-108 καὶ ... Θε(ε)ός *om.* P₄ 107 λαοὺς: λαοὺς πρὸς ὑμῶν μετέρεψας Δ.α. XXIII βοᾶν: βοᾶν ὁ τῶν Πατέρων Θεός Δ.α. XII 108-109 Εὐ[λογητὸς ... ἡμῶν): Εὐλογητὸς ὁ Θεὸς ὁ τῶν Πατέρων A R ὁ Θεὸς ὁ τῶν Πατέρων ἡμῶν: *om.* C Δ.α. XXIII P₂ P₃ S71 S208 S632 Vat 1560 Vat 2288 ὁ τῶν Πατέρων ἡμῶν *om.* Δ.α. XVIII Mat Θεὸς ὁ τῶν Πατέρων ἡμῶν Δ.α. XII R Εὐλογητὸς ἐκβοῶν ὁ τῶν Πατέρων Θεός Vat 2308

Ode 7

Παῖδες θεοσεβεῖς ἐν Βαβυλῶνι
εἰκόνι χρυσῇ οὐ προσεκύνησαν

Compiendo miracoli
nel nome di Cristo
apparso materialmente
nella carne,
o benevolo,
aggiogasti
a sicura fede popoli e città,
che gridavano:
'Benedetto il Dio dei nostri padri'.

Fermasti
una cancrena di ateismo
col sale divino
della tua parola salvifica
e guaristi
i cuori piagati
dal morso del serpente,
o beato apostolo.
Benedetto
il Dio dei nostri padri.

Ti sollevasti,
o Taddeo,
al sommo della contemplazione,
pieno di Spirito divino
e ti arricchisti
divinamente della parola salvifica
ed educasti il popolo a gridare:
'Benedetto il Dio dei nostri padri'.

- 110 [Γνώμη οἰκεία] ὀλισθαίνων, θεοτ.
[καὶ] πράξ[εις] ἀθέ[σμους] περικείμενος
ἐπὶ σὲ καταφεύγω·
βοήθει μοι, δέσποινα
[μετανοίας τρόπους παρέχουσα
115 τῇ ταπεινῇ μου ψυχῇ
ἵνα δοξάζω σε].
- 1v <᾿Ωιδὴ η΄>
Νικηταὶ [τυράννου]
- 120 Ο[ὕ(ρα)νὸς ἐ]φάνης
δόξαν διηγο[ύμενος
θεοῦ, θαδδαῖε,
καὶ ἐθνῶν ἐγένου
φωτισμὸς πρὸς] πίστῳσιν
Θ(εο)ῦ ἐνάγων
τ[οὺς θερμῶς βοῶντας·
ὕμνεῖτε τὸν Κύριον
125 καὶ ὑπερυψοῦτε
αὐτὸν εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας].
- 130 Ῥ[ῶσ]ιν ἀσθενοῦσιν,
καὶ τυφλοῖς ἀνάβλεψιν
[καὶ παρειμένοις
εὐ]δρο[μίαν], μάκαρ,
χορηγῶν τοῦ Π(νεύματ)ος
τῇ δυναστείᾳ,

110 ὀλισθαίνων: ὀλισθαίνω C 111 ἀθέσμους Δ.α. XII Δ.α. XXIII SP₁ Vat 1560 Vat 2288 ἀτόπους Ma R 112 σὲ: σοι Δ.α. XII 114 τρόπους: τρόποις Δ.α. XXIII **hirm.** R I 295 117-126 Ο[ὕ(α)νὸς ... αἰῶνας]: *om.* Δ.α. XXIII 117 ἐ]φάνης: ἐγήνου S208 Vat 2308 119 θεοῦ: θεῖαν C Me₁ P₂ P₄ R S208 SP₁ Vat. 2288 120 καὶ *om.* Ma 121 φωτισμὸς: φωτισμούς Mat 122 θεοῦ: θεῖαν Ma P₃ S632 V Vat 2288 122-123 Θε(ο)ῦ ... βοῶντας: τῶν θείων ἐνέργων τῶν θερμῶς βοῶντων Vat 2308 122-126 θείου ... αἰῶνας: ἐνέγων εὐλογητὸς πάντα Vat 1560 123 τ[οὺς θερμῶς βοῶντας: τοῦ θερμῶς βοᾶν τε Δ.α. XVIII τοὺς θερμούς βοῶντας Ma 124 ὕμνεῖτε τὸν Κύριον: ὕμνεῖτε εὐλογητὸν τὸν Κύριον Vat 2288 124-126 τὸν Κύριον ... αἰῶνα]: *om.* Δ.α. XVIII P₃ P₄ S632 125-126 καὶ ... αἰῶνας]: *om.* C Me₁ P₂ S71 S208 Vat 2288 126 εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας]: *om.* Δ.α. XII αὐτὸν εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας: *om.* Mat Vat 2308 127 ἀσθενοῦσιν: ἀσθενοῦντες Δ.α. XVIII ἀτθενοῦσι P₂ P₄ 130 μάκαρ: μάρτυς Δ.α. XXIII 130-131 μάκαρ ... Πνεύματος: χορηγῶν θαδδαῖε τοῦ Π(νεύματ)ος S71 132 τῇ δυναστείᾳ: τῇ δυναστείᾳ Εὐλογητὸς Δ.α. XXIII

Deviando
nella mia mente
ed abbandonandomi
ad azioni sconvenienti
ricorro a te,
aiutami o Signora:
suggerisci alla mia misera anima
il modo di pentirmi
affinché io ti celebri.

theot.

Ode 8

Νίκηται τυράννου

O Taddeo,
apparisti qual cielo
che narra la gloria di Dio
e diventasti
luce delle nazioni
guidando
alla fede di Dio
quelli che esclamano
ardentemente:
'Celebrate il Signore
ed esaltatelo sempre'

Tu che fornisci
col potere dello spirito
la forza ai deboli,
vista ai ciechi,
agilità ai paralitici,
beato,

- 135 πόλεως [Ἐδέσεως]
φῶς γὰρ ἐχρημάτισας,
τῆς ἀεὶ πιστῶς σε,
θαδδαῖε, εὐφημούσης.
- 140 Ὁ περιουσία
θαυμασίων ἄπιστον
ἔθνος εἰς πίστιν
ἐπινεύσει θεία
μ[εταποι]ησάμενος,
καὶ ἐξ εἰδώλων
πλάνης διασώσας
145 τοὺς αὐτῷ προστρέχοντας
πίστει, κατὰ χρέος
δοξάζεται θαδδαῖος.
- 150 Νόμου τὸ σκιῶδες
ἀπεπαύθη, δέσποινα,
σοῦ κυησάσης
νόμου τὸν δωτ[ῆ]ρα,
χάριτι φωτίζοντα
τὴν οἰκουμένην·
ὃν ἀεὶ δυσώπει
155 νόμῳ με [ἐ]πόμενον
τῷ τῆς ἀμαρτίας
οἰκτεῖραι διὰ τάχους.
- θεοτ.

133-136 πόλεως ... εὐφημούσης *om.* Δ.α. XXIII **134** φῶς γὰρ: σέλας Δ.α. XII Mat Vat 1560 φωστήρ A C Δ.α. XVIII Ma Me₁ P₂ P₃ R S632 SP₂ V Vat 1560 Vat 2308 κόσμος S71 **135** τῆς: τοὺς Ma τοῖς Vat 2308 **136** θαδδαῖε, εὐφημούσης: θαδδαῖε ἐν ὑμῖς S71 εὐφημούσης Δ.α. XII P₂ R SP₁ εὐφημοῦμεν T εὐφημοῦσιν Δ.α. XVIII Ma Vat 1560 Vat 2288 Vat 2308 εὐφημούντων P₃ P₄ **137** Ὁ: ἡ P₂ **137-146** Ὁ ... θαδδαῖος *om.* S208 **142** καὶ ἐξ εἰδώλων: ἀναμέλπεις Εὐλογητὸς Δ.α. XXIII **142-146** καὶ ... θαδδαῖος *om.* Δ.α. XXIII **146** θαδδαῖος: θαδδαῖε C Δ.α. XVIII Vat 2288 **148** ἀπεπαύθη: κατεπαύθη Δ.α. XXIII **150** νόμου τὸν δωτ[ῆ]ρα: τὸν δωτῆρα νόμου P₃ S632 ὃν δωτῆρα νόμου Vat 1560 **152** τὴν οἰκουμένην: τὴν οἰκουμένην Εὐλογητὸς Δ.α. XXIII **153-156** ὃν ... τάχους *om.* Δ.α. XXIII **154** [ἐ]πόμενον: τροπούμενον Mat S71 **154-155** νόμῳ ... ἀμαρτίας: νόμου με [ἐ]πόμενον τὸν τῆς ἀμαρτίας T νόμῳ με τροπούμενον τῷ τῆς ἀμαρτίας Δ.α. XII Ma Me₁ P₂ P₃ S632 SP₁ Vat 2308 νόμου με τροπούμενον τῷ τῆς ἀμαρτίας Vat 1560 νόμου με τροπούμενον τὸν τῆς ἀμαρτίας Δ.α. XVIII νόμου *om.* P₄ **156** διὰ τάχους: οἰκτεῖραι διὰ τάχους T S71 S208 S632.

fosti certamente luce
della città di Edessa,
che ti celebra sempre con fede,
o Taddeo.

È debitamente
celebrato
Taddeo,
che con abbondanza
di miracoli
convertì
il popolo
infedele alla fede
con l'approvazione divina
e salvò
dall'errore degli idoli
quelli che ricorrevano
a lui con fede.

O Signora,
la tenebra della legge
fu dissipata,
poiché tu concepisti
il dispensatore della legge,
che illumina
la terra tutta con la grazia,
sempre pregalo
di avere presto
pietà di me,
che seguo
la legge del peccato.

theot.

ὦ(δὴ) θ'

Κυρίως Θ(εοτό)κον
σὲ ὁμολογοῦμεν

160 Ἰδὼν τὰς δι' αἰῶνος
θείας ἀντιδόσεις,
καὶ ἐφετῶν ἀκροτάτων τρανότερον,
μάκαρ ἐγγίζων θαδδαῖε
τέρπου καὶ χόρευε.

165 Ὡς κέδρος, ὡς μεγίστη,
ἔνδοξε θαδδαῖε,
ταῖς ἀρεταῖς ἀνυψώθης κ[υ]πάρισσος,
εὐωδιάζων καρδίας
τῶν εὐφημούντων σε.

170 Συνήφθης ἀποστόλων,
μάκαρ, καὶ μαρτύρων
καὶ ἀσωμάτων χορείαις γη[θό]μενος·
μεθ' ὧν δυσώπει σωθῆναι
τοὺς σὲ γεραίροντας.

175 Ἡ μνήμη σου πλουσίως
φέγγει χαρισμάτων
τὰς τῶν πιστῶν διανο[ίας] φωτίζουσα
ἀνευφημεῖν σε, θαδδαῖε,
πάντας προτρέπεται.

hirm. R I 63 157 ἰδῶν: ὀρῶν Δ.α. XXIII Vat 2288 ἰδὼν τὰ: ὀρώντας Ma 159 ἀκροτάτων: ἀκροτάτῳ A C Δ.α. XXIII P₂ P₃ P₄ R S632 SP₁ V Vat 1560 ἀκροτάτως Mat ἀκροτάτων τρανότερον: ἀκροτάτῳ παριστασαι Vat 2308 160 μάκαρ ἐγγίζων θαδδαῖε: μάρτυς ἐγγίζουσα Βάσσα Δ.α. XXIII 160 θαδδαῖε: Ἐλαῖα Δ.α. XXIII 162-166 Ὡς ... σε om. Vat 1560 164 κ[υ]πάρισσος: ὡς φοῖνιξ δὲ Δ.α. XXIII 167-171 Συνήφθης ... γεραίροντας om. Δ.α. XXIII 167 ἀποστόλων: ἀποστόλοις Vat 2308 170 σωθῆναι: om. P₃ P₄ 171 τοὺς σὲ γεραίροντας: τοὺς ἀνυμνοῦντας σε Vat 2308 172-176 Ἡ ... προτρέπεται om. Vat 2308 172 πλουσίως: πλουσίαν Ma πλουσίῳ Mat 172-173 πλουσίως φέγγει: πλουσίῳ P₄ S632 πλουσίῳ μάκαρ Δ.α. XII πλουσίως σου 175 ἀνευφημεῖν σε: ἀνευφημεῖ σε T θαδδαῖε: νῦν Βάσσα Δ.α. XXIII 176 πάντας: μάκαρ P₂ προτρέπεται: φωτίζετε Vat 1560

160-176: *textus mutilus* in Vat 2288.

162 1Rg 6.18 Is 2.13 Ez 31.3 Am 2.9 Ps 28.5 91.13 103.16 164 1Rg 5.22 Is 35.17 Os 14.9

Ode 9

Κυρίως Θεοτόκον
σὲ ὁμολογοῦμεν

Avendo visto
le divine ricompense
che durano in eterno e,
beato Taddeo,
avvicinandoti con più chiarezza
alle più alte mete,
goisci ed esulta.

Come un cedro,
o glorioso Taddeo,
come un altissimo cipresso,
ti innalzasti per le tue virtù,
profumando i cuori
di quelli che ti celebrano.

Ti unisti con gioia, o beato,
alle schiere esultanti di apostoli,
martiri e angeli;
con essi supplica che siano salvi
quelli
che ti onorano.

La memoria di te
brilla abbondantemente
di grazie,
illuminando
le menti dei fedeli
e incita tutti ad acclamare con grida, o Taddeo.

180 Φιλάγαθε Παρθένε, θεοτ.
 τὴν κεκακωμένην
 ταῖς ἁμαρτίαις ψυχὴν μου ἀγά[θυ]νον,
 ἢ τὸν πανάγαθον Λόγον
 ἀποκυήσασα.

Μη(νὶ) τῷ αὐτ(ῷ) κβ'. <Μνήμη> τοῦ ἁγίου μ(ε)γ(α)λομ(ά)ρ(τυρος) Ἀγαθονίκου

Κάθ(ισμα) ἦχο(ς) δ'
 πρὸς τό· Ὁ ὑψωθ(εῖς) ἐν τῷ σ(ταυ)ρ[ῷ]
 Τὸ ὀπτικόν σου τῆς ψυχῆς
 ἀποκαθάρας,
 καθυπεδέξω τὴν αὐγὴν
 185 τῆς Τριάδος
 καὶ τὰς ἐν ζόφῳ, πάνσοφε,
 ψυχὰς φωτίσας
 αἴγλη θ[είων] λόγων σου,
 Ἀγαθόνικε μάρτυς
 190 ὅθεν πρὸς ἀνέσπερον
 μεταβέβη[κας] φέγγος,
 ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἀπαύστως δυσωπῶν
 τῶν σε τιμούντων
 καὶ πίστει [ὑμνούν]των σε.

177 Φιλάγαθε: πανάγαθε Δ.α. XXIII 179 ταῖς ἁμαρτίαις: τῇ ἁμαρτίᾳ Δ.α. XXIII **hirm.** MR I 181
 183 ἀποκαθάρας: ἐκκαθάρας A Δ.α. XII Δ.α. XXIII Ma R 184 τὴν αὐγὴν: τῆς αὐγῆς Vat 1560
 186 πάνσοφε: πάντοτε Mat S71 186-187 πάνσοφε ... φωτίσας: πάντοτε ψυχῆς ἐφώτισα S71 186-
 188 πάνσοφε ... αἴγλη: πάναγνε ἐφώτισας ψυχὰς αἴγλην Vat 1560 187 ψυχὰς φωτίσας: ἐφώτισας
 ψυχὰς A Δ.α. XVIII Δ.α. XXIII Ma Me₂ R S630 V ψυχὰς ἐφώτισας Vat 2292 188 αἴγλη: αἴγλην
 Vat 2292 αἴγλη ... σου: αἴγλη θείας χάριτος S71 189 Ἀγαθόνικε μάρτυς: Λοῦππε μάρτυς κυρίου A Ma
 R V 190 ὅθεν πρὸς: χαίρων πρὸς Δ.α. XII 192 δυσωπῶν: δυσωπεῖν Δ.α. XVIII δυσωπῶ Vat 1560
 193 σε τιμούντων: προσκυούντων Vat 2292 193-194 τῶν σε τιμούντων καὶ πίστει: ὑπὲρ τῶν πίστει
 καὶ πόθῳ Δ.α. XXIII 194 σε: ἀεὶ P₃ S630.

190-191 Meth. *symp.* 8.5 (PG 18 145C)

Vergine benevola,
che concepisti
il Verbo tutto bontà,
salva la mia anima
resa malvagia dal peccato.

theot.

Nello stesso mese il giorno 22 agosto. Festa del grande santo martire
Agatonico

Cathisma tono IV

πρὸς τό· Ὁ ὑψωθείς ἐν τῷ σταυρῷ

Avendo purificato
l'occhio della tua anima,
accogliesti il raggio della Trinità,
saggissimo,
e avendo illuminato
le anime
che erano nell'oscurità
con lo splendore delle tue parole divine,
o martire Agatonico.
Per questo sei passato
alla luce senza tramonto,
pregando incessantemente per noi
che ti onoriamo
e ti celebriamo con fede.

Στιχηρὸν ἦχ(ος) πλάγιος β'
πρὸς τό· Ὅλην ἀποθέμενοι

195 Λόγον θείας γνώσεως
ἀναπηγάζων πλουσίως
ἀεὶ ἐν καρδίᾳ σου
χερ[σωθεί]σας ἔνδοξε
ψυχὰς ἥρδευσας
200 καὶ ἀθλεῖν ἔπεισας
ἀρχηγὸς ἄριστος
δεγμένος Ἀγαθόνικε·
ὥσπερ ὁ Παῦλος δὲ
δέσμιος γενόμενος ἔτρ[εχες]
205 τοῦ δρόμου σου κατάλληλον
σπεύδον ἐφευρεῖν τὸ συμπέρασμα
οὗ κ[αὶ] ἡξιώθης,
τμηθεὶς τὴν ἱεράν σου κεφαλὴν
ὑπὲρ Χ(ριστο)ῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν,
210 μάρ[τυς] Ἀγαθόνικε.

Ὁ κανὼν ἦχ(ος) δ'

Ὡι(δὴ) α'

Τῷ ὁδηγήσαντι πάλαι
τὸν Ἰ(σρα)ήλ φε(ύγοντα)

Ἐν τῇ λαμπρότητι, μάρτυς,
ὡς ἀληθῶς ἔδραμες
τῶν τοῦ Κ[υρίου ἐντο]λῶν
καὶ κατευθύνας τοὺς πόδας σου
215 πρὸς φωτισμὸν τὸν τῆς [γνώ]σεως,
ἔφθασας

hirm. R VI 3 195-210 Λόγον ... Ἀγατόνικε: *om.* Δ. α. XVIII Me₂ S71 195- 231 Λόγον ...
ἀοίδι[με]: *om.* A Ma Mat R S630 V Vat 787 Vat 1560 Vat 2288 Vat 2292 202 δεγμένος
Ἀγαθόνικε: τούτων μάκαρ γνωριζόμενος C δεγμένος: πάντων μάκαρ S632 **hirm.** R IV 352 211-231
Ἐν ... ἀοίδι[με] *om.* C Ἐν: Ὁ T.

211-231 Ἐν ... ἀοίδι[με] : *textus in Δ.α. XXIII discrepat*

203-204 Act 23.18 Eph 3.1 2Tim 1.8 Hb 10.34; 13.3

Stichero tono plagale II

πρὸς τό' Ὅλην ἀποθέμενοι

O glorioso
facendo zampillare
sempre nel tuo cuore
in abbondanza la parola
della divina conoscenza
irrigasti le anime aride,
e le convincesti a lottare,
accolto come ottima guida,
o Agatonico;
come Paolo,
fosti incatenato
per trovare in fretta
l'esito adeguato al tuo percorso,
di cui fosti ritenuto degno,
allorché fu tagliata
la tua sacra testa,
per Cristo nostro Dio,
o martire Agatonico.

Canone tono 4**Ode I**

Τῷ ὁδηγήσαντι πάλαι
τὸν Ἰ(σρα)ήλ φε(ύγοντα)

O martire,
davvero corresti
nello splendore degli ordini del Signore
e dirigendo i tuoi piedi
verso la luce della conoscenza,
pervenisti

τὴν ἀκατάλυτον μονὴν
τῆς αἰδίου ζωῆς.

220 Τοῖς τῶν αἱμάτων σου ρείθροις
τὸν νοητὸν ἔπνιξας
καὶ ἀλαζ[όνα φα]ραῶ
καὶ διελθὼν ὥσπερ θάλασσαν
τῆς ἀσεβείας τὸν κλύδ[ωνα],
ἔλαβες
225 κληροδοσίαν τῶν πιστῶν
τὴν μακαρίαν ζωὴν.

Ἐπενδυσάμενος, μάκαρ,
τὸ τοῦ Χ(ριστο)ῦ ὄνομα
ὥσπερ χιτῶνα [φαι]νόν,
230 τῆς ἀπιστίας τὴν νέκρωσιν
ἀπεξεδύσω αἰοίδι[με].

f. 2^r <Τῇ κζ' τοῦ αὐτοῦ μηνός. Μνήμη τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ποιμένος>

<Στιχηρὰ ἦχ(ος) πλάγιος γ'
πρὸς τό· Χαίροις ἀσκητικὸς>

<Χαίροις, τῶν μοναζόντων ἀστήρ
τῇ φωταυγίᾳ καταλάμπων τῶν πόνων σου
καὶ λύων ζοφώδη πάθη
235 ταῖς ἐναρέτοις σοφὲ
καὶ μεγίσταις πράξεσι τῶν καμάντων σου,
Ποιμὴν παναοίδιμε,
ὁ ἐκλάμπων φανώτατα
καὶ καταυγάζων
240 τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν τιμώντων σε

217 μονήν: μονήν Δ.α. XII ὁρμήν Δ.α. XVIII Me₂ T P₃ S71 **223** κλύδ[ωνα]: Δ.α. XII Ja Me₂ καύσωνα S632 **225** κληροδοσίαν τῶν πιστῶν: κληροδομίαν τοῖς πίστοις S71 **226** τὴν μακαρίαν ζωὴν: τὴν ζωὴν S632 **227** μάκαρ: μάρτυς P₃ S632 **229** ὥσπερ: ὑπὲρ Me₂ **231** ἀπεξεδύσω αἰοίδιμε: ὑπεξεδύσω μάκαρ Δ.α. XVIII **232-249** Χαίροις ... ἔλεος om. A Δ.α. XII Ma P₁ R V Vat 1560 **232-242** Χαίροις ... μεταφ' ἑρῶν om. T **232** ἀστήρ: φωστήρ **233** τῶν πόνων σου: τὰ πέρατα Me₂ **234** πάθη: πλάνην C Vat 787 τοῦ πνεύματος: Vat 2288 **236** τῶν καμάντων σου: τῶν ἀγώνων P₂ P₃ S632 σου C τῶν θαυμάντων σου Vat 787 **238** ὁ ἐκλάμπων: ἐπιλάμπων P₃ P₄ S632 **240** τῶν τιμώντων σε: τῶν τιμώντας σου Vat 2288

219-231 τοῖς ... αἰοίδιμε: *textus in P₂ et P₄ discrepat* **232-242** *Initium hymni in Δ.α. XXIII, Me₂, P₄ et in SP₁ extat*

219-223 Ex 14. 15-29

alla dimora indistruttibile
della vita eterna.

Con i fiotti del tuo sangue
soffocasti il faraone spirituale e vanaglorioso
e, avendo attraversato
l'onda dell'empietà
come un mare,
ricevesti
come ricompensa della fede
la vita beata.

O beato,
avendo indossato
il nome di Cristo
come un mantello splendente,
ti spogliasti, o glorioso,
della morte della corruzione.

Nello stesso mese il giorno 27. Festa del santo nostro padre Pemen

Sticheri tono plagale secondo

πρὸς τό· Χαίροις ἀσκητικὸς

Gioisci, o stella dei monaci,
che illumini con lo splendore delle tue fatiche
e dissolvi, saggio, le tenebrose passioni
con il sublime effetto delle tue azioni
Pemen glorioso,
tu che brilli con fulgidissima luce
e illumini le anime

- 245 καὶ πρὸς ἔρωτα
μεταφ) ἔρων τὸν ἔνθεον
μύρον τὸ εὐωδέστατον
λειμών ὁ τερπνότατος
[εὐωδιάζ]εις τοὺς πίστει
σου τὴν σεπτὴν μνήμην σέβοντας
ὁδμαῖς πρε[σβειῶν] σου
ἐξαιτούμενος τῷ κόσμῳ
τὸ μέγα ἔλεος.
- [Κα]νὼν ἡχο(ς) πλ(ἅγιος) δ'
ὦιδ(ῆ) α'.
- ἄισωμεν τῷ Κ(υρί)ῳ
τῷ διαγαγόντι].
- 250 [Θέρ]μη τοῦ παρακλήτου,
π(άτ)ερ, θαλπομένη ἡ καρδία σου,
τὸν κ[ρυμ]ὸν τῶν δαιμόνων
καὶ παθῶν τὸν χειμῶνα διέλυσεν.
- 255 [Ἄνθ]ρακι θείου φόβου
φλέξας τῶν παθῶν τὴν ὕλην, γέγονας
δια[κρί]σεως λύχνος
ἀπαθείας πυρσός τε, μακάριε.
- [Φέρω]ν ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων,
π(άτ)ερ, τὸν σταυρόν σου ἠκολούθησας
τῷ καλέσαντι πόθῳ,
καὶ φωστήρ μοναστῶν ἐχρημάτισας.
- 260

242 μεταφέρων: καταφέρων P₄ S632 **243** μύρον: μύροις Mat **243-244** τὸ εὐωδέστατον λειμών: τῷ εὐωδέστατῳ λημών Δ.α. XVIII **245** [εὐωδιάζ]εις: εὐωδιάζων Mat Me₂ P₂ P₃ P₄ Vat 787 **246** σέβοντας: σέβοντες C **247** ὁδμαῖς: ὁδαῖς T σου: σοι Δ.α. XXIII ὁδμαῖς πρε[σβειῶν]: πρεσβειῶν ὁδμαῖς S71 **hirm.** R III 537 **252** τὸν κ[ρυμ]ὸν τῶν δαιμόνων: τὸν κρυμὸν τῆς ἀπάτης Vat 787 **253** διέλυσεν: διέλυσας Δ.α. XVIII Vat. 787 **254-257** [Ἄνθ]ράκι ... μακάριε *om.* Δ.α. XVIII P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Vat 2288 **254** [Ἄνθ]ράκι: *om.* Δ.α. XXIII Ἄνθ]ραξι E Vat 1560 **257** πυρσός: πυρσοῦ T μακάριε: μακάριος Vat 787 **259** τὸν σταυρόν: τοῦ σταυρῷ T **260** τῷ καλέσαντι: τῷ καλοῦντι σε Vat 787 **261** μοναστῶν: *om.* P₄ μοναχῶν S630 1560

258-261 [Φέρω]ν ... ἐχρημάτισας *textus in S71 discrepat* **262-265** [Ὅλο]ν ... μητρὸς πάθ(ε)νε *textus in E et Vat 1560 discrepat.*

258-259 Mt 10.38 Lc 14.27

di coloro che ti onorano
e per amore
produci l'olio divino più profumato.
Tu, prato assai dilettevole,
mandi olezzo a quelli
che venerano con fede
il tuo santo ricordo,
chiedendo la grande pietà per il mondo
con il profumo della tua intercessione.

Canone tono plagale 4

Ode I

Ἦλθωμεν τῷ Κ(υρί)ῳ
τῷ διαγαγόντι.

O padre,
il tuo cuore riscaldato
dal calore del Paracleto
annullò il gelo dei demoni
e la tempesta delle passioni.

Avendo bruciato la selva delle passioni
con il carbone del timor di Dio,
diventasti lucerna di giudizio,
fiaccola di pace contemplativa, o beato.

O padre,
portando la tua croce sulle spalle,
assecondasti l'amore che ti invocava
e fosti chiamato stella dei monaci.

265 [Ὅλο]ν με διασώζει θεοτ.
 Λόγος ὁ ὑπέρθεος, χρηστότητι
 βουληθεὶς ἐκ γαστρός σου
 σαρκωθῆναι, ἀγνὴ μητροπάρθ(ε)νε.

270 Ὡιδ(ή) γ'
 Σὺ εἶ τὸ στερέωμα
 [Στ]άσιν τὴν παννύχιον
 σοῦ κατεπλάγησαν ἄγγελοι,
 καὶ γὰρ αὐτο[ὺς]
 [Ἔ]σχες συνεργοῦντας
 ταῖς πρὸς θ(εὸ)ν ἐντεύξεσιν.

275 [Λύ]μης ἀπεκάθηρας
 τῆς διανοίας σου ὄμματα
 τῆς τῶν παθῶν
 ὅθεν ἐνοπτρίζου
 καθαρῶς τὸν ἀόρατον.

280 [Γά]λακτι ἀσκήσεως
 ὡς ἐκτραφεὶς, Ποιμὴν ὅσιε,
 εἰς ἀρετῶν
 ὕψος [ἀ]νηνέχθης,
 εἰς τελείαν ἀπάθειαν.

285 Ἔχων σε βοήθειαν, θεοτ.
 τῶν δυσ[μεν]ῶν ὁρμάς, ἄχραντε,
 οὐ δειλιῶ·
 ἔχων σε προστάτιν,
 τὰς αὐ[τῶ]ν τρέπω φάλαγγας.

262 [Ὅλο]ν: ὅλος Δ.α. XII **hirm.** R I 39 **266-270** [Στ]άσιν ... ἐντεύξεσιν: *om.* P₁ **269** [Ἔ]σχες: εἶχες P₄ εἶχον Me₂ SP₂ εἶχες E Vat 787 Vat 1560 Vat 2288 συνεργοῦντας: συνεργοῦντας Πειμὴν ἀξιοθαύμαστε Δ.α. XVIII **270** ταῖς ... ἐντεύξεσιν *om.* Δ.α. XVIII θεὸν: θεῖον C Ma Vat 1560 σου *add.* P₂ **271-275** [Λύ]μης ... ἀόρατον *om.* P₃ P₄ **272** σου ὄμματα: τὰ ὄμματα A Δ.α. XII Δ.α. XVIII R ὄμματι SP₁ **274** ἐνοπτρίζου Δ.α. XII Δ.α. XVIII Ma Me₂ T SP₁ SP₂ V Vat 787 Vat 1560 Vat 2288 ἐνοπτρίζη A R **278** εἰς: καὶ P₂ ἀπάθειαν: ἀπώλειαν Ma **282** ὁρμάς: βουλάς Δ.α. XVIII **285** τρέπω: τρέπων Ma.

266-267 [Στ]άσιν ... ἄγγελοι *textus a macula obrutus in* Δ.α. XXIII **281-285** Ἔχων ... φάλαγγας: *textus in* Me₂ *et* Vat 1560 *discrepat.*

Mi salva del tutto, *theot.*
il Verbo assai divino,
avendo voluto per bontà incarnarsi nel tuo ventre,
Santa Madre Vergine.

Ode 3

Σὺ εἶ τὸ στερέωμα

Gli angeli sbigottivano
per tua veglia notturna,
infatti tu
li avesti partecipi
alle preghiere a Dio.

Purificasti gli occhi
della tua mente
dalla cecità delle passioni,
perciò tu rifletti
con purezza l'invisibile.

Nutrito del latte dell'ascesi,
santo Pemen,
ti sollevasti
al massimo le virtù
fino alla perfetta impassibilità.

Avendo te come aiuto, *theot.*
o pura,
non temo gli attacchi dei nemici;
avendo te come guida,
metto in fuga
le loro falangi.

᾿Ωιδ(ῆ) δ'

Εἰσακήκοα, Κ(ύρι)ε
τῆς οἰκονομίας

290 [Ἀ]κληλίδωτον ἔσοπτρον
τὰς τοῦ Παρακλήτου αὐγὰς δεχόμενον,
Θ[ε]οφόρε, ἐχρημάτισας,
καὶ δοχεῖον θεῖον
ἀναβάσεων.

295 [Ἀρ]δευόμενον δάκρυσιν
δένδρον καθωράθης, π(άτ)ερ, ὑψίκομον
ἐγκρατεία καλλυνόμενον,
καὶ καρποῖς ἐνθέοις
εὐθηνούμενον.

300 [Γ]ηπονήσας τὴν ἄρουραν
σοῦ τῆς διανοίας πόνοις ἀσκήσεως,
ἀρετῶν στάχυν πολύφορον
καὶ θαυμάτων χάριν
ἐγεώργησας.

305 Παρθενίας κειμήλιον, θεοτ.
καὶ τῆς ἀχωρίστου φύσεως σκὴνωμα,
τὴν ψυχὴν μου φωταγωγήσον
τὴν ἐσκοτισμένην,
Θεονύμφευτε.

hirm. R I 97 **286-290** [Α]κληλίδωτον ... ἀναβάσεων *om.* P₁ **287** τὰς: ταῖς T **287-294** δεχόμενον
... ἐνθέοις *om.* Δ.α. XVIII **287** Παρακλήτου: Παραδείσου C δεχόμενον: δεχόμενος E **289** δο-
χεῖον: δοχεῖον Vat 2288 θεῖον: θείων Δ.α. XVIII P₄ R SP₁ SP₂ V **290** ἀναβάσεων: ἀναβάσεων E
ἐπιλάμψεων P₂ ἀναβάσεως Vat 1560 **291** [Ἀρ]δευόμενον: ἀρδευόμενος A Δ.α. XII R SP₁ **291-295**
295 [Ἀρ]δευόμενον ... εὐθηνούμενον *om.* P₃ P₄ **292** π(άτ)ερ: μάκαρ Vat 787 ὑψίκομον: ὑψούμενον
Vat 1560 **293** καλλυνόμενον: καλλυνόμενος Ma **294** καρποῖς ἐνθέοις: καρποὺς ἐνθέους E **295**
εὐθηνούμενον: εὐφημούμενος T εὐθυνούμενος Δ.α. XVIII P₂ εὐφορούμενον Mat **302** ἀχωρίστου:
ἀχωρήτου A C Δ.α. XII Δ.α. XVIII P₂ P₃ R S71 S630 S632 SP₂ V Vat 787 **305** Θεονύμφευτε:
πολλοῖς πάθεσιν Vat 787.

286-295 *troparia 1-2 ordine inverso in Δ.α. XVIII posita sunt* **301-305** Παρθενίας ... Θεονύμφευτε
textus in Me₂ E, Vat 1560 discrepat.

286 Sap 7.26

Ode 4

Εἰσακήκοα, Κ(ύρι)ε
τῆς οἰκονομίας

Fosti chiamato specchio puro,
che accoglie
i raggi del Paracleto,
o teoforo,
e ricettacolo divino
delle ascensioni.

Fosti visto
come albero dall'alta chioma
irrigato dalle lacrime,
che è abbellito dall'astinenza
ed allietato dai frutti divini.

Avendo lavorato
il campo della tua mente
con le fatiche dell'ascesi,
hai coltivato
una spiga fertile di virtù
e grazia di miracoli

Illumina la mia anima
che si trova nell'oscurità,
o tesoro di verginità,
tempio della natura infinita,
o sposa divina.

theot.

[᾽Ωιδῆ ε']

Ὁρθρίζοντες βοῶμέν σοι, Κ(ύρι)ε

Τὸν καύσωνα βαστάσας, ἀοί[δι]με,
τῆς ἡμέρας
τῆς τοῦ Κ(υρίου)υ σου, ὅσιε,
χαρᾶς κατηξίωσαι.

310

[᾽Α]σκήσεως λειμῶνι ἡδύπνοον
ἔφυς ῥόδον,
ὁδμαῖς θείας γνώσεως
εὐωδιάζον τὰ πέρατα.

315

Τὸν πρὶν μεγαλαυχία καυχόμενον,
π(άτ)ερ, ὄφιν
πρὸς γῆν ἐταπείνωσας,
τῇ ταπεινώσει φραζάμενος.

320

Παρθένον μετὰ τόκον ὑμνοῦμέν σε,
Θ(εοτό)κε,
σὺ γὰρ τὸν Θ(εò)ν Λόγον
σαρκὶ τῷ κόσμῳ ἐκύησας.

θεοτ.

[᾽Ωιδῆ] ς'

Χιτῶνά μοι παράσχου φωτεινόν

325

Νεκρώσας τὰς τοῦ σώματος ὁρμὰς
πολλοῖς ἀγωνίσμασιν,
ζωὴν πρὸς ἀθάνατον
ἐξεδήμησας, Ποιμὴν ἀξιάγαστε.

hirm. R III 606 **306-307** Τὸν ... ἡμέρας: τὸν καύσωνα βαστάσας, ἀοίδιμε, φέρων τὸν τῆς ἡμέρας
P₁ S630 **308** ὅσιε: ἅγιε Me₂ **309** κατηξίωσαι A Δ.α. XXIII Ma Me₂ P₂ P₄ R SP₁ SP₂ Vat 1560
Vat 2288 κατηξίωσας Δ.α. XII κατηξίωσε Δ.α. XVIII E T **310** λειμῶνι: λειμῶνα SP₂ λιμένι Vat
1560 ἡδύπνοον: ἡδύπνιον Vat 2288 ἔφυς: ὠφθην Δ.α. XXIII Vat 787 ἔφυς ῥόδον: om. Ma χαίροις
πάτερ Vat 1560 **311** ἔφυς: ἔφυ Mat **312** γνώσεως: χάριτος P₂ **313** πέρατα: σύμπαντα Vat 787
314 καυχόμενον: χρησάμενος A C Δ.α. XII Δ.α. XVIII Δ.α. XXIII Ma Me₂ P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ S630 S632 SP₁
V Vat 787 Vat 2288 κρατούμενον Vat 1560 **320-321** σὺ ... ἐκύησας om. E κυήσασα Vat 1560
παρασχέσεως S630 **hirm.** R II 267 **322** Νεκρώσας ... ὁρμὰς: Νεκρώσεως τοὺς πόνους τῆς σαρκὸς
Vat 787.

322-329 troparia 1-2 inverso ordine posita in Vat 787.

Ode 5

Ὁρθρίζοντες βοῶμέν σοι, Κ(ύρι)ε

O glorioso,
avendo sopportato il caldo del giorno,
sei stato ritenuto
degno delle gioie del tuo Signore, o puro.

Nel prato dell'ascesi
tu fosti una rosa dal soave odore,
profumando i confini della terra
con gli effluvi della divina conoscenza.

O padre,
umiliasti a terra il serpente
che prima si esaltava
per superbia,
rivestitoti con l'umiltà.

Inneggiamo a te, *theot.*
Vergine dopo il parto,
Madre di Dio,
infatti tu mettesti
al mondo in carne il Verbo divino.

Ode 6

Χιτῶνά μοι παράσχου φωτεινόν

Avendo annullato
gli istinti del corpo con molte lotte,
andasti verso la vita immortale,
o Pemen,
degno di ammirazione.

- Ἐγκράτειαν, ἀένναον εὐχήν,
ἀγάπην ἀθόλωτον
κτησάμενος, ὅσιε,
ἀκηλίδωτον Θ(εο)ῦ ὥφθης ἔσοπτρον.
- 330 Ἐρήμοις ἐν ἀβάτοις προσφοιτῶν,
παθῶν ἐρημώσεως
σαυτὸν ἀπεγύμνωσας,
καὶ πολίτης οὐ(ρα)νῶν ἐχρημάτισας.
- 335 Ἡ μόνη διὰ λόγου ἐν γαστρὶ θεοτ.
τὸν Λόγον κυήσασα,
ρύσαι, δεόμεθα,
[τῶν] παγίδων τοῦ ἐχθροῦ τὰς ψυχὰς ἡμῶν.
- f. 2v [Ῥιδὴ ζ']
[Παῖδες Ἑβραίων]
- 340 [Θείαις] σχολά[ζων θεωρ]ίαις,
λαμπρυνόμενος αὐτοῖς θεαυγίαις,
[καὶ ἡμέρας υἱὸς
καὶ φ]ῶς τῶν ἐν τῷ σκότει
ὡς ἀληθῶς γεγένησαι,
Θ[εοφόρε, εἰς αἰῶνας.
- 345 Ἦρθης πρὸς ὕ]ψος ἀπαθείας·
μετὰ σώματος ἀγγέλους ἐμιμήσω·
[Παραδείσου] τρυφῆς
- 326-329** Ἐγκράτειαν ... ἔσοπτρον *om.* P₁ P₃ P₄ **326** ἀένναον εὐχήν: ἀένναον καὶ εὐχήν A V
327 ἀγάπην: ἀγάπη Vat 2288 **329** Θ(εο)ῦ: θεῖον Vat 2288 ἔσοπτρον: ὄργανον P₂ **330-333** Ἐρή-
μοις ... ἐχρημάτισας *om.* Vat 1560 **330** προσφοιτῶν: προσφυγὸν Δ.α. XVII Vat 787 προσφυγῶν
P₂ S71 **334** γαστρί: σαρκὶ Δ.α. XII Δ.α. XXIII Ma P₁ P₂ P₃ R SP₂ V Vat 1560 Vat 2288 **335-337**
κυήσασα ... ἡμῶν *om.* E **hirm.** III 543 **339** αὐτοῖς: πάτερ Ma θεαυγίαις: φωταυγίαις SP₁
Vat 787 θεωρίαις Vat 1560 **341** τῶν: τοῖς Mat Me₂ Vat 787 ἐν τῷ σκότει: *om.* P₄ **344** ἀπαθείας:
ἀληθείας SP₁ Vat 787 ἀφθαρσίας Vat 1560 **346** τρυφῆς: τροφῆς Vat 1560 **348-349** ἀγαβῶν ...
Θ(εὸς) *om.* Δ.α. XXIII S632.
- 330-399** Ἐγκράτειαν ... ἀρετάς: *textus a macula obrutus in* Δ.α. XXIII **334-430** Ἡ ... ἦνω[σας]:
textus mutilus in Vat 2288.
- 341** Rm 2.19

Avendo acquistato
temperanza, preghiere continue,
amore puro, o santo,
apparisti
come specchio limpido di Dio.

In eremi inaccessibili
ti spogliasti
della desolazione delle passioni
e prendesti nome
di cittadino dei cieli.

Tu che, sola, *theot.*
con parole,
concepisti nel tuo ventre
il Verbo,
salva, te ne preghiamo,
le nostre anime dalle insidie del nemico.

Ode 7

Παῖδες Ἑβραίων

Dedicandoti a divine contemplazioni,
risplendendo dei raggi immateriali,
o teoforo, sei diventato
per sempre figlio del giorno
e luce di coloro
che sono nell'oscurità.

Ti sollevasti
alla vetta della contemplazione,
nel corpo imitasti gli angeli,
diventasti erede

ἐγένου κληρονόμος,
ἀναβοῶν, μακά[ρι]ε·
[ὁ Θεὸς, εὐλογητὸς εἶ].

350

[Λάμπων] ἀκτίσιν ἀπαθείας
ἀπημαύρωσας δαιμόνων ἐπη[ρείας·
καὶ τῆς τούτ]ων πολλοὺς
κακώσεως ἐρρύσω,
ἀναβοῶντας, ὅσιε·
355 ὁ Θεός, [εὐλογητὸς εἶ].

360

Ἴδε ἡ]ν ἔφησεν παρθένον
ἐν τῷ πν(εύματι) ὁ μέγας Ἡσαΐας,
ἐν γαστρὶ τὸν Θεόν
συνέλαβε] καὶ τίκτει·
ὦ μελωδοῦμεν· Κ(ύρι)ε
ὁ [Θεός εὐλογητὸς εἶ].

θεοτ.

[ᾠδὴ ἡ'

Τὸν ἄναρχον
βασιλέα τῆς δόξ[ης]

365

Ἀγύστακτον
τῆς ψυχῆς τὴν λαμπάδα
ἐλαίῳ σου
τῶν ἀγώ[νων τηρήσας],
[εἰς]ῆλθες ἐν χαρᾷ
εἰς ἄφθαρτον νυμφῶνα,
καὶ ζῆς εἰς τοὺς αἰών[ας].

348 μακάριε: ὡς εὐσπλαγχος Vat 1560 **349** εὐλογητὸς εἶ: εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας Mat εἶ *om.* C E Me₂ P₁ P₃ P₄ S71 Vat 787 Vat 1560 **350-361** [Λάμπων] ... εἶ] *om.* P₃ P₄ S71 **350** ἀπαθείας: μετανοίας Δ.α. XVIII **351** ἐπηρείας: ἐπινοίας Vat 1560 **354** ὅσιε: ἔνδοξε Vat 1560 **355** ὁ Θεός, [εὐλογητὸς εἶ]: ὁ Θεὸς ὁ τῶν Πατέρων ἡμῶν SP₁ εἶ *om.* C Δ.α. XVIII E Mat P₁ S71 Vat 787 Vat 1560 **356** παρθένον: παρθένος S632 **358** τὸν Θεόν: τὸν υἱὸν E **360** ὦ ... κ(ύρι)ε: ὦ μελωδοῦντες κράζομεν Δ.α. XII R ὦ μελωδοῦμεν κράζομεν Ma ὦ μελωδοῦμεν ... Θεός *om.* Vat. 787 **360-361** Κ(ύρι)ε ... εἶ: ἄχραντε ὁ Θεός εὐλογητὸς Me₂ **361** εὐλογητὸς εἶ *om.* C E εἶ *om.* Mat P₁ P₃ P₄ S71 SP₂ Vat 787 Vat 1560 ὁ ... εἶ *om.* S630 **hirm.** R V 192 **362-368** Ἀγύστακτον ... αἰών[ας] *om.* P₁ **367-368** νυμφῶνα, καὶ ζῆς: νυμφίον καὶ ζωῆς Vat 787 **368** ζῆς: ζῆν Δ.α. XII ζωῆς P₂.

356-361 Ἴδε ... εἶ: *textus in Δ.α. XVIII discrepat.*

356-357 Is 7.14 **362-368** Mt 25.1-13

della ricchezza del Paradiso,
gridando, o beato: 'Dio, tu sei benedetto'.

Brillando dei raggi dell'impassibilità,
avendo vanificato
le minacce dei demoni,
liberasti anche molti
dalla malvagità di questi,
o santo, che gridano: 'Dio, tu sei benedetto'.

Ecco, disse il grande Isaia ispirato, *theot.*
colei che, Vergine,
accolse Dio nel ventre e lo generò
per il quale noi cantiamo:
'Signore Dio, sei benedetto'.

Ode 8

Τὸν ἄναρχον
βασιλέα τῆς δόξης

Avendo mantenuta
accesa la lampada dell'anima
con l'olio delle tue prove,
entrasti
con gioia nel talamo incorrotto
e ora vivi nei secoli.

370 Ο[ὕ]κ [ἔσει]σαν
 τῆς ψυχῆς [σου τὸν] πύργον
 οἱ ἄνεμοι
 ἀκαθάρτων [Πν(ευμάτ)ων].
 [ἔσ]τήρικτο καὶ γὰρ
 τῆς π[ίστεω]ς ἐν πέ[τρα,
 375 π]αμμάκαρ Θεοφόρε.

Τὸ [δύσμορφον
 τῶν παθῶν ἐξε]δύσω
 χιτώνιον·
 ἐνεδύσω [δέ, πάτερ,
 380 ὡραίαν] τὴν στολὴν
 θείας τῆς ἀπαθείας,
 Χ(ριστ)ῶ συμβασιλεύων.

Ὡς ἔντιμον
 καὶ ὑπέρτατον θρόνον
 385 [ὑπά]ρχουσιν
 τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ ὑψίστου
 [ὑμνήσω]μεν, λαοί,
 τὴν μόνην μετὰ τόκον
 μ(ητέ)ρα καὶ παρθένον.

369 [ἔσει]σαν: [ἔσει]σε Δ.α. XVIII **369-375** Ο[ὕ]κ ... Θεόφορε *om.* P₃ P₄ **371** ἄνεμοι: ἄνομοι
Mat **373** [ἔσ]τήρικτο καὶ γὰρ: ἐστήρικται καὶ νῦν S630 **374-382** τῆς π[ίστεω]ς ... συμβασιλεύων
om. Δ.α. XII **374** ἐν: ἡ Δ.α. XVIII **379** πάτερ: μάκαρ C Δ.α. XVIII *Mat* Me₂ P₁ P₂ P₄ S71
 S630 S632 SP₂ Vat 787 μᾶλλον E Vat 1560 **381** θείας ἀπαθείας: θ(ε)ῶ T τῆς θείας ἀπαθείας A
 C Δ.α. XXIII Me₂ P₂ P₃ P₄ R SP₂ Vat 1560 τὰς θείας ἀπαθείας τῆς βασιλείας Δ.α. XVIII τῆς θείας
 βασιλείας Δ.α. XXIII P₁ Vat 787 τὴν ἐκ τῆς ἀπαθείας: Δ.α. XII **382** συμβασιλεύων: συμβασιλεύειν
 Δ.α. XVIII Vat 787 **386** τοῦ ὑψίστου: τὴν μητέρα E Vat 787 Vat 1560 **387-389** [ὑμνήσω]μεν ...
 παρθένον: ὑμνήσωμεν, λαοί, τὴν ἁγίαν παρθένον αὐτὴν ὑπὲρ υψούντες εἰς πάντας τοὺς αἰῶνας A V τὴν
 ἁγίαν παρθένον ὑμνήσωμεν λαοὶ αὐτὴν ὑπὲρ ὑψούντες εἰς πάντας τοὺς αἰῶνας Ma **388-389** μετὰ ...
 παρθένον: μετὰ τόκον παρθένον φυλαχθεῖσαν P₂ S632 μ(ητέ)ρα καὶ παρθένον φυλαχθεῖσαν SP₂ Vat
 787 θεοτόκον παρθένον φυλαχθεῖσαν Vat 1560.

383-389 Ὡς ... παρθένον: *textus in* Δ.α. XVIII *discrepat.*

374-375 Mt 7.24 **383-395** Ap 4. 2-3

I venti di spiriti impuri
non scossero
la torre della tua anima;
infatti era costruita
sulla roccia della fede,
o beatissimo teoforo.

Ti spogliasti
dal mantello deforme delle passioni
e indossasti,
padre, la bella stola
della divina impassibilità
regnando con Cristo.

Inneggiamo, *theot.*
o popoli,
alla sola madre
e vergine dopo il parto,
perché ella è il glorioso
e sommo trono di Dio altissimo.

Ὡι(δὴ) θ'

Ἐφριξεν
πᾶσα ἀκοή
τὴν ἀπόρρητ(ον) Θ(εο)ῦ συγκατ(άβασιν)

390 Ἐδυσ μὲν
οἰάπερ ἀστήρ
ἀπὸ κόσμου· πρὸς Χ(ριστὸ)ν δὲ ἀνέτειλας,
τὸν νο[ητὸν ἀλη]θῶς
δικαιοσύνης,
395 παμμάκαρ, ἥλιον·
καὶ ὡς ἀκτῖνας τοῖς πιστοῖς
[τὰς σὰς] καταλέλοιπας
φωτοειδεῖς ἀρετάς,
ἐλαυνούσας τῶν πιστῶν ἀμαυρότη[τα].

400 Τίμιος
ἔναντι Θ(εο)ῦ
σοῦ ὁ θάνατος, ἀοίδιμε, γέγονεν·
καὶ γὰρ ὁσίως ἐν γῇ
ἐπ[ολι]τεύσω
405 τούτου προστάγματα
καὶ δικαιώματα, Ποιμήν,
τηρήσας ἀλώ[βητα·]
ὅθεν ἀνέτειλεν
ὡς δι(καί)ω σοι τὸ φῶς τὸ ἀνέσπερον.

410 Ταῖς θεαῖαις,
π(άτ)ερ, καλλοναῖς
ἐνηδόμενος, καὶ θέσει θεούμενος,
καὶ τῷ μεγάλῳ φωτὶ

hirm. R I 281 390-399 Ἐδυσ ... ἀμαυρότη[τα] *om.* P₁ 391 ἀστήρ: φωστήρ Vat 1560 392 πρὸς:
καὶ Vat 787 394 δικαιοσύνης: δικαιοσύνην Vat 1560 395 ἥλιον: ἥλιος Δ.α. XVIII 396 τοῖς
πιστοῖς: τοὺς πιστοὺς Vat 787 399 πιστῶν ἀμαυρότη[τα]: ψυχῶν ἀμαρτήματα Mat πιστῶν: ψυχῶν
A C E Ma Me₂ P₂ P₃ P₄ R S630 SP₁ SP₂ Vat 787 Vat 1560 ἀμαυρότη[τα]: ἐπιμέλειαν Vat 787
402 θάνατος, ἀοίδιμε, γέγονε: ἀοίδιμε θάνατος γέγονε SP₁ 405 τούτου: θεῖα Ma τούτου προστάγματα
τούτῳ τὸ πρόσταγμα Vat 1560 406 δικαιώματα: δικαιώματα Vat 1560 407 ἀλώ[βητα]: ἀλώβημα E
409 ὡς δι(καί)ω σοι: Δ.α. XII Δ.α. XVIII E R SP₂ ὡς δικ(αί)ως σοι T Vat 1560 ὡς δικαίωσιν Vat 787
σοι *om.* Vat 1560 410-419 Ταῖς ... μνημόν[ευε] *om.* E P₃ P₄ Vat 1560.

400-419 *troparia 2-3 inverso ordine posita in Vat 1560.*

394-395 Mal 4.2 400-402 Ps 115.15-16 409 Za 14.7 1Io 1.5

Ode 9

Ἐφριξεν
πάσα ἀκοή
τὴν ἀπόρρητον Θεοῦ συγκατάβασιν

Tu come un astro
tramontasti dal cosmo,
o beatissimo,
sorgesti verso Cristo,
il vero sole
intelligibile di giustizia.
E hai lasciato ai fedeli
come raggi le tue luminose virtù,
che dissipassero
l'oscurità dei fedeli.

Preziosa
agli occhi del Signore
è la tua morte
o glorioso,
e infatti tu conducesti
una vita santa sulla terra,
avendo rispettato
i suoi precetti e giudizi inviolabili,
o Pemen;
perciò la luce senza tramonto
sorse per te
in quanto giusto.

O padre,
godendo
della bellezza divina,
e reso divino
per superiore decreto

- 415 πεφωτισμένος
νῦν παριστάμενος,
καὶ ἀκροτάτων ἐφετῶν
ἐγγίζων [καὶ τρανό]τερον,
τῶν σε τιμώντων αἰὶ
καὶ τελούντων σου τὴν μνήμην μνημόν[ευε].
- 420 Ἐπαυσας θεοτ.
μόνη γυναικῶν
τὴν ἀρὰν τῶν πρωτοπλάστων, Θεόνυμφε,
τ[ὸν] ἀπερίγραπτον
σαρκὶ τεκοῦσα
425 περιγραφόμενον·
ἐκαινοποίησας θεσμ[οὺς]
φύσεως, ἀμόλυντε·
τὰ διεστῶτα τὸ πρὶν
παραδόξῳ μεσιτείᾳ σου ἥνω[σας].

Μη(νὶ) τῷ αὐτ(ῷ) κη'. <Μνήμη> τοῦ ὁσί(ου) π(ατ)ρὸς ἡμῶν Μωσέως τοῦ Αἰθιόπου

- Κάθισμα ἡχ(ος) γ'
πρὸς τ(ό)· Θείας πίστ(εως)
- 430 Θείαν ἔλλαμψιν
καταπλουτήσας
σκότος ἔλειπες
παθῶν, παμμάκαρ·
ταῖς ἀγρύπνοις προσευχαῖς
435 ἐμάρανας αἰοίδιμε
τὸ τῆς σαρκὸς ἐπαιρώμενον φρόνημα
καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἄνω ἐπέβης ἀκρόπολιν·
π(άτ)ερ ὅσιε, Χ(ριστὸ)ν τὸν Θεὸν
ἰκέτευε δωρήσασθαι ἡμῖν τὸ μέγα ἔλεος.

416 ἀκροτάτων ἐφετῶν: ἀκροτάτῳ ἐφετῷ A P₂ R V Vat 787 Vat 1560 ἀκροτάτῳ ἐφετῶν C P₂
417 [καὶ τρανό]τερον: καὶ om. C Δ.α. XVIII Δ.α. XXIII P2 Vat 787 Vat 1560 καινώτερον Mat
418 τιμώντων αἰὶ: Ποιμήν A C Δ.α. XVIII Ma Me₂ P₂ R SP₂ V Vat 787 Vat 1560 αἰὶ: Ποιμήν P₁ S630
 S632 **426** ἐκαινοποίησας: ἐκαινοτόμησας A Δ.α. XII S71 S630 SP₁ SP₂ P₂ P₄ R V Vat 1560
429 μεσιτείᾳ: ἐπιτείᾳ Vat 1560 **hirm.** HV 270 **430-467** Θείαν ... σε om. A C Ma P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ R
 S630 S632 V Vat 787 Vat 1560 **430-439** Θείαν ... ἔλεος om. Δ.α. XII Δ.α. XVIII E SP₁ Vat 2288
435 ἐμάρανας αἰοίδιμε: ἀπεμάρανας Mat αἰοίδιμε om. S71

420-429 Ἐπαυσας ... ἥνω[σας]: *textus in Δ.α. XVIII et Vat 787 discrepat*

e trovandoti ora illuminato
dalla grande luce
e avvicinandoti
con più sicurezza alle più alte mete,
ricordati di quelli che ti onorano
e che conservano il tuo ricordo.

Tu, *theot.*
sola fra le donne,
o sposa di Dio,
mettesti fine
alla maledizione delle prime creature,
avendo generato nella carne
l'infinito come finito;
rinnovasti,
o immacolata,
le leggi della natura
e riunisti con la tua eccezionale mediazione
ciò che prima era diviso.

Nello stesso mese il giorno 28. Festa del santo nostro padre Mosè l'Etiope

Cathisma tono terzo

πρὸς τὴν Θεῖαν πίστιν

O beatissimo,
tu essendoti arricchito
dello splendore divino,
lasciasti l'oscurità
delle passioni,
o glorioso,
distruggesti
con insonni preghiere
il pensiero stimolato dall'istinto carnale
e salisti alla città celeste.
O padre santo,
supplica Cristo di donarci il grande perdono.

Στιχ(ηρά) ἦχ(ος) β'
πρὸς τό· Ὅτε ἐκ τοῦ ξ[ύλου]

- 440 Πάσας
ἀκανθώδεις ἡδονὰς
θείων προσευχῶν τῇ μαχαίρᾳ
ρίζοτομήσας, σοφέ,
δαιμόνων ζιζάνια
445 ὅθεν συνέκοψας
θεῖον σθένος ἐνδέδυσαι
καὶ νοῦν [ἐκ]καθάρας
ἄνω ἀπαιώρισας
ὡς διὰ κλίμακος,
450 μάκα[ρ,
ἀπα]θείας τῷ ὕψει·
ἥς καὶ ἐπιφθάσας τὸ ἄκρον
καθαρῶς τῷ κτίστη προσωμίλησας.
- 455 Σκότ[ει
τῶν παθ]ῶν καὶ ἡδονῶν
μεμελανωμένην ψυχὴν μου
καὶ [σκοτουμ]ένην δεινῶς,
π(άτ)ερ, καταλεύκανον
καὶ μετανοίας κρουνοῖς
460 κατ[αρδεύω]ν οὐ(ρά)νιον
πρὸς φῶς βλέψαι, μάκαρ,
θείως μεταποίησον
ταῖς σαῖς [δε]ήσεσιν
ὅπως
465 κατανύξεως στάχυν
φέρων μακαρίζω σε π[όθω]
πρ[εσβευ]τὴν θερμότατον πλουτήσας σε.

hirm. PerR 136 **442** τῇ μαχαίρᾳ: τῇ δρεπάνῃ Me₂ **445** ὅθεν: πάτερ Δ.α. XVIII Me₂ SP₁ Vat. 2288 συνέκωψας: συνεκώψασθε SP₁ Vat 2288 **446** ἐνδέδυσαι: κτησάμενον Δ.α. XII **448** ἄνω ἀπαιώρισας: ἐν ᾧ ἀπεόρισας T **452** ἥς: ὡς Me₂ **453** προσωμίλησας: σου παρίστασαι Δ.α. XVIII SP₁ Me₂ **454-467** Σκότει ... σε omi. Mat **455** ἡδονῶν: ἡδοναῖς Δ.α. XVIII SP₁ Me₂ **457** δεινῶς: δειναῖς Δ.α. XVIII **459** κρουνοῖς: ὄμβροις Δ.α. XVIII SP₁ Me₂ **460** οὐράνιον: σωτήριον Δ.α. XVIII SP₁ Me₂ **462** θείως: θεῖον Δ.α. XII Δ.α. XVIII SP₁ **467** θερμότατον πλουτήσας σε: πλουτήσασα θερμώτατον Δ.α. XVIII πλουτήσας σε θερμώτατον Me₂ SP₁.

432-439 σκότος ... ἔλεος *textus in Me₂ discrepat* **440-467** Πάσας ... σε *textus a macula obrutus in Δ.α. XXIII* **446-464** θεῖον ... ὅπως *textus mutilus in Vat 2288*.

444 Mt 13. 25-30; 38-40

Sticheri tono secondo

πρὸς τό· Ὅτε ἐκ τοῦ ξ[ύλου]

O saggio,
avendo troncato
con il gladio
della preghiera divina
tutti i piaceri spinosi,
perciò tagliasti
la zizzania dei demoni;
indossasti forza divina e,
avendo purificato la mente,
elevandola in alto
o beato,
arrivato alla vetta della calma meditativa
ti incontrasti puro con il Creatore.

Rendi bianca
la mia anima
resa nera
dall'offuscamento
delle passioni e dei piaceri,
terribilmente immersa
nell'oscurità,
padre,
ed irrigandola
con le fonti del pentimento,
ottieni con le tue preghiere,
o beato,
che, essa guardi alla luce celeste
affinché producendo una spiga di contrizione,
con zelo ti dichiaro beato,
ricco di averti
come fervidissimo intercessore.

SUMMARY

In the extensive Carrano family archive of Teggiano (SA) two fragments of the Byzantine Menea have been identified. Both fragments are datable to the latter part of 10th and the first part of the 11th century. The fragments contain part of the liturgical services of August dedicated to saints Thaddeus, Agatonico, Pemen and Moses the Ethiopian, respectively on the 21th, 22nd, 28th and 29th of the same month. An edition of the text of the fragments has been produced and this uses as its base 24 manuscripts of different origin. The study includes a palaeographic and documentary analysis as well as a translation of the text in Italian.

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The *Kanonikon* by John the Faster

Preface

In the civil diocese of Pontus, starting with Gregory Thaumaturgus (ca. 213-270) a penitential procedure originated that eventually developed into the system of four penitential degrees that is found in Basil of Caesarea's canonical letters. Wishing to write a study on the history of this penitential system and its reception in the Byzantine Church, I saw a work, written long after the fourth century, which includes a chapter mentioning three grades of penance. The work, a collection of penitential canons, is edited by Matthew Blastares (fl. 1335). In the course of analyzing this work, it became clear that the chapter concerned is an interpolation. It is a decree of a local, probably Constantinopolitan synod on sinning with one's mother-in-law. The chapter is a text that at an uncertain date was created independently from Blastares' work. After analyzing it, I thought it opportune to publish the analysis.

Sigla and abbreviations

Texts between () added for clarity's sake, < > to be added, [] to be omitted.

Beck, H.G., *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich*, München 1959, rp. 1977.

DID = *Didascalia Patrum*, M. Arranz (ed.), *I penitenziali bizantini* (Kanonika 3, Rome 1993) 131-207; F. van de Paverd (trans.), *The Kanonarion by John, Monk and Deacon and Didascalia Patrum* (Kanonika 12, Rome 2006) 199-292. (When mentioning this work I refer to the translation by van de Paverd.)

GEL = H. Liddell et al., *A Greek-English Lexicon*, Oxford 1978.

Holl, K., *Enthusiasmus und Bußgewalt beim griechischen Mönchtum*, Leipzig 1898, rp. Hildesheim 1969.

Joannou, P.-P., *Fonti*, Fascicolo 9: *Discipline générale antique* (2^e-9^e s.), I/1: *Les canons des conciles oecuméniques*, II/2: *Les canons des synodes particuliers*, II: *Les canons des pères grecs*, Index, Grottaferrata 1962-1964.

KAN = *The Kanonarion by John, Monk and Deacon*, Arranz, o.c. (s. v. DID) 30-129; van de Paverd, o. c. (s. v. DID). (When mentioning this work I refer to the translation by van de Paverd.)

Morin, J., *Commentarius historicus de disciplina ... poenitentiae*, (Paris 1651, rp. Farnborough 1970) Appendix.

Paverd, F. van de, *The Kanonarion by John, Monk and Deacon* (Kanonika 12), Rome 2006.

— *Quotiescumque. Greek Origin of a Latin Confessor's Guide*, Utrecht 2012.

PGL = G. W. H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, Oxford 1969.

Pitra, J. B., *Spicilegium Solesmense* IV, Paris 1858, rp. Graz 1963.

For the translation of texts of the Septuagint I use Sir Lancelot C.L. Brenton, *The Septuagint with Apocrypha Greek and English*, Michigan 1851, rp. Michigan 1980.

I should note that Joannou gives all the canons that the Council in Trullo (691-692), canon 2 (o. c. I/1, 120-125) recognized as sources of canon law. E. Mühlenberg, *Gregorii Nysseni opera*, vol. 3, *Opera dogmatica minora*, pars 5 (Leiden – Boston 2002) 1-4 re-edited Gregory of Nyssa, *Epistula canonica*. I collated his text with Joannou's and found four slight variants, immaterial for the purpose of the present study.

When dividing longer quotations into lines or sections, I call the sections "colons."

1. Introduction

1.1 Blastares' synopsis

The text of what M. Geerard calls the "Canones (collecti a Matthaeo Blastara)" (CPG, No. 7560 [2]) is given by Rhallis-Potlis IV 432-445.¹ The "Canones" are provided with the title, "Matthew (Blastares) turned the following things (ταῦτα) from the *Kanonikon* by the holy John the Faster into a synopsis" (o. c. 432¹⁻⁴). This title suggests that Blastares took parts from John the Faster's *Kanonikon* and published them in an orderly arranged way. I believe that in reality Blastares gives all the parts of John the Faster's *Kanonikon* in the order in which the canonist found them in his model. Nevertheless, I adopt the term synopsis as the title for Blastares' writing. As the analysis of the work shows, Blastares might have replaced a word of John the Faster with a synonym and he certainly added a few details, but for the rest we may take it that the canonist faithfully copied his model. This means that Blastares' synopsis overlaps the *Kanonikon*, of which the original text seems to be lost.

The parts of Blastares' synopsis are unnumbered. However, in Rhallis-Potlis the first part is entitled "Prologue," the second part, "The matters of the *logikon*. On apostasy," the third part "On magic." These parts are followed by 15 other parts having a title. I call all parts of Blastares' synopsis, including the prologue, "chapters." Thus, Blastares' synopsis is made up of 19 chapters.

¹ The reprint of Rhallis-Potlis six-volume work has now been placed online.

1.2 Identity of the John the Faster mentioned as author of the *Kanonikon*

Several works on penitential discipline are attributed to John the Faster or to the Constantinopolitan Patriarch John IV Nesteutes (582-595). Among the latter Beck also mentions the *Kanonikon*.² There is no text in the writing itself that justifies its attribution to a patriarch and for its title Rhallis-Potlis does not give a variant of a MS ascribing the work to John IV Nesteutes. Blastares does not qualify its author as the head of a Church, but in his prologue speaks of “the divine (θεῖος) John the Faster” (Rhallis-Potlis IV 432⁶) and in the rest of his synopsis he speaks of ὁ Νηστευτῆς Ἰωάννης (chapter 3 and 7, o. c. 435⁵. 438⁸). The author of the title of chapter 4 simply uses the name ὁ Νηστευτῆς (o. c. 435¹⁶). In contrast, referring to the 65th patriarch of Constantinople (843-847), the author of the second part of chapter 2 calls him “the most holy patriarch of Constantinople Methodios” (o. c. 433⁶⁻⁷). Unfortunately, the second part of chapter 2 is an interpolation, but its author’s mention of Methodios’ rank makes it probable that, if the author of the *Kanonikon* had been a patriarch, Blastares would have said so.

The author of the *Kanonikon* considerably shortens the penances prescribed by legislators of the third and fourth centuries although he compensates for his reductions by additional penitential works. We may assume that he mitigates the former severe penances out of pastoral sympathy with sinners. About John IV Nesteutes a story circulated ruling out that he can be the author of the *Kanonikon* or any other penitential book inspired by compassion with offenders. For this story, to which A. Kazhdan’s entry “John IV Nesteutes” in ODB drew my attention, I read the introductions by P. Schreiner, *Theophylaktos Simokates, Geschichte (Bibliothek der griechischen Literatur 20)* Stuttgart 1985 and *The Chronicle of John of Nikiu (c. 690 A. D.) Coptic Bishop of Nikiu*, translated by R.H. Charles from the Ethiopic, the only version in which the work survives.³ The main language of the *Chronicle* was Greek, but for some parts its author might have used Coptic.

Separated by about a generation, the oral tradition of the story in question found its written expression in the works of two authors, who wrote independently of each other, Theophylaktos Simokates (fl. 7th cent.) and John of Nikiu (late 7th cent.) (Schreiner 19). The former is of Egyptian origin, but wrote in Constantinople, the latter was the Coptic Orthodox bishop of Nikiu in Egypt. In *Historiae* I 11, Simokates relates that John IV Nest-

² See Beck 423-425.

³ *Text and Translation Society* 3, London 1916, rp. APA – Philo Press, Amsterdam, without year (1984?). L.M. & M. Whitby (trans.), *The History of Theophylact Simocatta*, Oxford 1986 was inaccessible to me.

eutes reported a certain Paulinos and other magicians to Emperor Maurice (582-602) with the intent, Simokates implies, that they should be executed. But, the emperor somehow delayed the execution "deeming it opportune that the sinners were healed by repentance rather than by punishment" (ἡξίου γὰρ μεταμέλω μᾶλλον ἢ ζημίᾳ τοὺς παραπεπτωκότας ἰάσασθαι). However, citing Heb 6: 4-8, the patriarch insisted that "the apostates" should be delivered to fire. His view prevailed and a court sentenced the magicians to an inescapable punishment. His head being placed between the two branches of a wooden fork, Paulinos was strangled, after he had seen that his son, who had learnt magic from his father, had been decapitated.⁴

John of Nikiu, *Chronicle*, chapter 98 relates that Paulinos came to meet his end through death by fire, after Patriarch John IV Nesteutes had said: "If Paulinus the magician is not committed to the flames this very hour, I will resign my throne and close all the churches. And I will not permit anyone to partake of the holy mysteries, until Christ has punished those who blaspheme His name" (Charles, o. c. 161-162).

There is no reason to doubt that the story reflects the fact that, wishing to safeguard the holiness of his Church, the patriarch was more concerned about deterring her members from practising magic than about the salvation of its convicted perpetrators. Such an attitude is irreconcilable with writing penitential books imbued with consideration for individual sinners. Authors of such penitentials, who were monks, may be assumed to have desired a sinner's turning from his evil way rather than his death (cf. Ez 18: 23).⁵

Since we may rule out the idea that Patriarch John IV Nesteutes is the author of the *Kanonikon*, the question arises whether there is another John the Faster with whom the author of the writing can be identified. As Holl points out (Holl 295), H. Gelzer published an encomium by Patriarch Kallistos I (1350-1353) on a monk John the Faster.⁶ The title of the encomium is, Τοῦ ἀγιωτάτου πατριάρχου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως Καλλίστου ἐγκώμιον εἰς

⁴ C. De Boor (ed.), *Theophylacti Simocattae, Historiae (Bibliotheca scriptorum graecorum et romanorum teubneriana)*, 1887, revised P. Wirth (Stuttgart 1972) 59³-62¹⁴. For an exegesis of Heb 6: 4-8 see I. Goldhahn-Müller, *Die Grenze der Gemeinde. Studien zum Problem der zweiten Buße im Neuen Testament unter Berücksichtigung der Entwicklung im 2. Jh. bis Tertullian* (Göttinger theologische Arbeiten 39, Göttingen 1989) 75-93.

⁵ Therefore we can rule out the idea that John IV Nesteutes is the author of KAN although it could have been written during his patriarchate. In van de Pavard, *Quotiescumque* 14, note 8, I admit the possibility that the patriarch wrote KAN. Incidentally, one of the sources for Simokates' story about a monk's prediction of Emperor Maurice's assassination (see Schreiner 16) might be *The Life of Theodore of Sykeon*, o. c. (below note 96) § 119.

⁶ "Kallistos' Enkomion auf Johannes Nesteutes," *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie* 29 (1886) 59-89 (59-64⁵: introduction, 64-59: text). Cf. Beck 214.424.775.

τὸν ὅσιον πατέρα ἡμῶν Ἰωάννην τὸν νηστευτὴν καὶ ἔπαινος εἰς τὴν σεβασιμίαν μονὴν τῆς ἀγίας Πέτρας. Εὐλόγησον, πάτερ. According to Gelzer, "Die Rede ist zweifellos an dem Festtage des Johannes des Fasters ... gehalten worden" (o. c. 61).⁷ From this eulogy, which deserves to be translated into a modern language because of its interest for Byzantine monasticism, several facts can be gathered concerning the John the Faster that is its primary subject matter. I confine myself to those facts that are relevant to the present study (cf. Gelzer, o. c. 62-63 and Holl, l. c.).

The "divine John," to whom a *Life* was devoted (ἡ κατ' αὐτὸν ἱστορία) (o. c. 67¹³), is styled "the Faster because of his practice of this virtue" (o. c. 66²⁶-67¹⁰). He visited various places (o. c. 70¹⁶-71²¹) and, finally, establishes himself on the island locally called "of the (Sea of) Marmara" (καὶ οἰκιστὴς τῆς ἐγχωρίως τοῦ Μαρμαροῦ ἐπικεκλημένης γίνεται νήσου)⁸ and embraces the solitude together with John the Baptist (o. c. 71²²⁻²⁴). On this island disciples gathered round him (o. c. 72²⁻¹⁶). After some time John Chrysostom's apparition caused him to go to Constantinople (o. c. 73²⁰-74¹⁵). He entered into relations with Patriarch Nicholas III Grammatikos (1084-1111), whose assistant he became and who appointed him "a second helmsman" (o. c. 75³⁰) just as Aaron became Moses' partner (o. c. 75³-77⁷). This seems to imply, Gelzer writes, that John the Faster became the patriarch's synkellos;⁹ "anders kann ich," Gelzer continues, "wenigstens die Metaphern von dem zweiten Steuerruder und dem Aaron neben Moses nicht verstehen" (o. c. 62). At the patriarch's command, John the Faster took up his abode in the monastery of Petra (o. c. 76⁹-77⁷). His fame also reached the imperial palace, especially the wife of Alexios I Komnenos (1081-1118), Eirene, who provided the monastery of Petra with a church (ναός) and water conduit (o. c. 77⁸⁻²⁵). The rest of the encomium shows that Petra became in Gelzer's words, "der Anziehungspunkt für zahllose Mönche" and "daß von demselben ... eine grossartige Reformation des orientalischen Mönchthums ausgegangen ist." Gelzer compares the "Reform des Fasters Johannes" with "der abendländischen Bewegung, welche die Mendicantenorden ins Leben rief" (o. c. 62).¹⁰

⁷ For the Constantinopolitan monastery of Petras see Beck, Index, s. v. "Petra."

⁸ For the various Marmara islands see *ODB*, s. v. "Marmara, sea of" (A. Kazhdan).

⁹ For this office see *ODB*, s. v. (A. Papadakis).

¹⁰ O. c. 63 Gelzer speaks of the "Gründer Johannes Nesteutes" (of the monastery of Petra) and considers Ἰωάννης ὁ Ἰοαλίτης, mentioned by Kallistos in his encomium to be the "δεύτερος κτήτωρ" (see o. c. 81²⁵⁻²⁶) in respect to John the Faster. However, it seems that John the Ioalites is the second founder in respect to Baras, whom Kallistos also praises (o. c. 80¹¹⁻²⁵). See Beck 214. It is unfortunate that A.-M. Talbot and A. Cutler, the authors of the entry "Kallistos I" in *ODB* obviously did not read Gelzer's article and state that among Kallistos' homilies there is also "an *enkomion* for Patr. John IV Nesteutes."

It is natural to suppose that “the divine John the Faster” of Kallistos I’s encomium is identical with “the divine John the Faster” Blastares mentions in his prologue. Holl advances the thesis that all the works on penitential discipline that circulated under the name of John Nesteutes are written by the monk John the Faster of Kallistos I’s encomium (Holl 296). Accepting Holl’s thesis, in his book *Untersuchungen zur griechischen Laienbeicht. Ein Beitrag zur allgemeinen Bußgeschichte* (Donauwörth 1913), Joseph Hörmann speaks about the “Bußreform des Johannes Nesteutes im 11. Jahrhundert” (o. c. 105). Although he uses the phrase (my italics), “die besonders von K. Holl herausgestellte Reform des Bußwesens *unter* Johannes Nesteutes” (o. c. 106), he assumes this John to be a monk (o. c. 106) and never calls him a patriarch or a synkellos.¹¹ Holl’s and Hörmann’s view that all the works ascribed to John the Faster should be attributed to the John the Faster of Kallistos I’s encomium means that they include KAN, which in its Georgian version (edited by M. Zaorzerskii and A. Khakhanov) and in, for instance, the MS *Coislin* 364 (13th cent.) is attributed to the patriarch John IV Nesteutes.¹² I believe I have proven that the oldest part of KAN was written between 546 and ca. 630 and its enrichment by various authors as well as its adaptation DID, between 730 and 800.¹³ The author of the oldest part of KAN is John, Monk and Deacon.

As to the other works attributed to John the Faster, for the purpose of the current article it suffices to establish that we can assume that the monk John the Faster of Kallistos I’s encomium is the author of the *Kanonikon*.

It is interesting to note this. According to the received text of Blastares’ synopsis, in chapter 15 John the Faster prescribes an excommunication of “up to five or three years at the most” for women who commit abortion (Rhallis-Potlis IV 443⁴⁻⁶). We may take it that the word “five” is an interpolation (see below section 2.11) and the excommunication John the Faster prescribes in the original text of chapter 13 is three years, just as all his other excommunications are three years or less severe, with the exception of his penance for apostasy (see below section 2.2). It likewise applies to the first author of KAN that he mentions excommunications not exceeding three years for the (sexual) sins he discusses.¹⁴ Therefore John, Monk and Deacon and John the Faster have in common (1) that their most severe

¹¹ For Hörmann’s references to Johannes Nesteutes see o. c. 105. 106. 108. 125, note 1; 196, note 1; 207. 271. 272. 281. For two other authors who accepted Holl’s thesis see E. Herman, “Il più antico penitenziale greco,” *OCP* 19 (1953) 71-127, see 72, cf. 120. See also below note 99.

¹² See Herman, o. c. 79. For the Georgian version see van de Paverd, *Kanonarion* 27.

¹³ For the second date see van de Paverd, *Quotiescumque* 113.

¹⁴ See van de Paverd, *Kanonarion* 38, 18-19 (p. 64), cf. o. c. p. 106-107.

excommunication does not exceed three years and (2) that they prescribe other forms of penance in addition to excommunication in order to make up for their considerable reductions of the prescribed penitential excommunications, although John, Monk and Deacon confines himself to imposing fasting.¹⁵ Since about four or five centuries separate the two authors we may call John the Faster's reform of the penitential practice a revival of the sixth/seventh-century practice advocated by John, Monk and Deacon.

Imitating the copyist who inserted the title of chapter 4 of Blastares' synopsis, for the sake of brevity I usually call the author of the *Kanonikon* "the Faster."

1.3 The series of 35 canons attributed to John the Faster

There is a writing consisting of 35 canons attributed to John the Faster that gives parallel texts of almost all the chapters of Blastares' synopsis and, with one exception, is also in perfect harmony with the order in which Blastares considers the sins he discusses. It is necessary to introduce this document to the reader because I use it as evidence that a section of Blastares' synopsis is an interpolation.

In CPG *the series of 35 canons* attributed to John the Faster is No. 7560 (2). For its edition M. Geerard refers to the monk — known only by the name of his patron saint — Christophoros, *Kanonikon* (Constantinople 1800) 312-325. The text is also published by Nikodemos Hagioreites, Ἐξομολογοτήριον (edition of 1818) 157-201 and Πεδάλιον (Leipzig 1800) 487-497.¹⁶ Nikodemos at great length comments on each canon without entering into questions of textual criticism. I follow the text of the *Pedalion*, of which I downloaded the Athens edition of 1886, and call the collection "the (series of) 35 canons." I should note that, since the first canon of the *Pedalion* is missing from Christophoros' edition, the latter only gives 34 canons. That is why Geerard speaks of the "Canones 34 (collecti a Matthaeo Blastara)." An English translation (inaccessible to me) is given by O. Cunnings, *Nikodemos of the Holy Mountain, The Rudder*, Chicago 1957.

In contrast to what applies to the chapters of Blastares' synopsis, the single canons of *the series of 35 canons* do not have a title. Moreover, although he gives the Faster's penances, the latter's name only appears in the title of the document. For the sake of simplicity, in the summary of *the series of 35 canons* given below I presume the author of the series to have used Blastares' synopsis. My summary bears out, I think, the correctness of the presumption. I also anticipate some results of my analysis of the

¹⁵ O. c. 151-159.163-167.

¹⁶ See Beck 425.

synopsis. Finally, it is useful to know that, transcribing the Faster's text, *Blasteres* follows this scheme: (1) legislation preceding the Faster (2) the Faster's legislation and (3) additional legislation in chapters 7, 9, 14 and 16. The following is a summary of *the series of 35 canons* in comparison with the chapters of *Blasteres'* synopsis.

Canon 1 of *the series of 35 canons* is almost literally **chapter 4** of the synopsis. Chapter 1 (prologue) and chapter 2 (on apostasy) are missing from the series, but the parallel text of chapter 3 (on magic) is canon 32. Chapter 4, an interpolation, explains "how the Faster reduced the years of penance." The Faster's shortening the penances of previous legislators is part of the subject matter of the synopsis, but it is practically the only matter of interest to the author of *the 35 canons*. Therefore, on the one hand, it is understandable that he or a copyist placed chapter 4 at the beginning of his canons, as a kind of prologue but, on the other hand, this meant sacrificing chapters 1-3.

The first clause of **chapter 5** is "all the matters that depend on the desiring part of the soul should be healed thus" (Rhallis-Potlis IV 436¹³⁻¹⁴). This is followed by a section, an interpolation, on the various phases of a temptation, and on ejaculation during a man's sleep or state of wakefulness (o. c. 436¹⁵⁻²⁸). The first clause is missing from *the series of 35 canons*. The six component parts of the interpolation are **canons 2-7**. Masturbation, for which the fathers did not legislate, is the subject matter of **chapter 6** (o. c. 437²⁻²⁰). It consists of four sections, which are almost literally copied by the author of *the 35 canons* (**canon 8-11**).

Chapter 7, on fornication, is made up of seven sections. Sections 1-5 (o. c. 437²²⁻⁴³⁸²) give the rules of legislators preceding the Faster (o. c. 437²²⁻⁴³⁸²), section 6 (o. c. 438³⁻¹²) the Faster's penance and section 7 additional legislation (o. c. 438¹³⁻¹⁸). The author of *the 35 canons* simply copied the Faster's penance (**canon 12**). **Chapter 8** (o. c. 438²⁰⁻²⁵) on bi- and trigamy is missing from *the series of 35 canons*. Of the seven sections that make up **chapter 9** (o. c. 438²⁷⁻⁴³⁹¹⁵), on adultery, the author of *the 35 canons* only adopted the fourth section (o. c. 439³⁻⁷), which gives the Faster's penance for adultery (**canon 13**), and he omits the legislation prior to the Faster (o. c. 438²⁷⁻⁴³⁹²) and the additional legislation (o. c. 439⁸⁻¹⁵).

Chapter 10 is on marriage with a heretic (o. c. 439¹⁷⁻²⁰). This chapter is missing from *the series of 35 canons*. The first of the four sections of **chapter 11** gives Basil's penance for incest with one's own sister (o. c. 439²²⁻²⁴), the second section (o. c. 439^{25-27a}) the Faster's penance for this kind of incest, the third section (o. c. 439^{27b-29a}) Basil's penance for incest with one's daughter-in-law, and the fourth section (o. c. 439^{29b-440}³) the Faster's penance for this sin. The author of the 35 canons only gives the Faster's penances (**canon 14-15**).

As I have said, **chapter 12** (o. c. 440⁴-441¹⁶) is an interpolation. It is on sinning with one's mother-in-law. It is the only chapter that mentions penitential degrees, which is reason enough to consider it as material extraneous to the Faster's *Kanonikon*. In addition, the style of chapter 12 is completely different from that of the other chapters and it includes several other obvious indications of being inserted into Blastares' synopsis by an interpolator. The author of *the 35 canons* only gives the first clause of the chapter (o. c. 440^{4-8a}), "The man who, being madly in love with his mother-in-law, does not divorce his wife, is subjected to the same epitimies in accordance with the law that says: 'The matters that are well-established from the beginning are not invalidated by what happens (later)'" (**canon 16**). For this "law" Rhallis-Potlis IV 440, note 1, refers to the *Basilika* II 3, 85.¹⁷ Canon 16 implies that sinning with one's mother-in-law deserves the same excommunication as the sin with one's daughter-in-law does (canon 15), that is, two years of excommunication plus additional penitential works. The authors of chapter 12, a synod, prescribe a penance of six years, extending over three penitential degrees, and a number of other penitential works.

Chapter 13 (Rhallis-Potlis IV 441¹⁸⁻²⁸), which gives rules for menstruant, is **canon 17** of *the series of 35 canons*. Of the three sections of **chapter 14**, on *arrenomania*, section 1 mentions Gregory of Nyssa's and Basil's penances (o. c. 441³⁰-442^{2a}), section 2 that of the Faster (o. c. 442^{2b-6}) and the third section answers the question whether an abused child can be ordained (o. c. 442⁷⁻¹²). The author of *the 35 canons* only adopted the second and third sections (**canon 18-19**).

Chapter 15, on murder, is the longest one of Blastares' synopsis (o. c. 442¹⁵-444³). It can be divided into two parts. The first part (o. c. 442¹⁵⁻²⁹) is made up of four sections. The first section gives Basil's penances for intentional and unintentional murder (o. c. 442^{15-18a}), the second section, the Faster's penance for intentional murder (o. c. 442^{18b-21}), section 3 that of canon 23 of the Council of Ancyra for intentional and unintentional murder (o. c. 442²²⁻²⁵), the fourth section, Basil's penance for those who kill in a war or a battle with robbers (o. c. 442²⁶⁻²⁹). It will no longer surprise the reader that the author of *the 35 canons* only copied the Faster's penance (**canon 20**). Unfortunately, a copyist failed to transcribe the Faster's penance for unintentional killing. His excommunication for premeditated murder is three years and that for unintentional killing may be assumed to be two years (see below section 2.12). Because of the omission the author of *the series of 35 canons* gives penances that differ from those of the Faster.

¹⁷ See H.L. Scheltema – N. van der Wal (eds), *Basilicorum libri LX*, series A, vol. I, *Textus librorum I-VIII* (Groningen et alibi 1955) 56¹⁴.

The former's text is, "We expel the (perpetrator of) intentional murder from Communion for five years, but the (perpetrator of) unintentional murder for three years if together with the fast till evening the murderer (αὐτόχειρ) eats dry food and is willing to make 300 metanies. But if he is slothful, he should complete the fathers' penance." Harmenopoulos attributes the same penances to the Faster as the author of *the 35 canons* does (see below, section 2.12).¹⁸

The second part of chapter 15 counts eight sections (o. c. 443¹-444³). The first section mentions Basil's penance for voluntary abortion (o. c. 443^{1-4a}) and the second section the Faster's penances for voluntary and involuntary abortion (o. c. 443^{4b-7}). The author of *the 35 canons* only transcribed the Faster's penances (**canon 21** and **22**). The other sections of the second part of chapter 15 are interpolations. Of them the author of *the 35 canons* adopted section 3 (o. c. 443⁸⁻¹⁵) (**canon 23**), for some reason omitted section 4 (o. c. 443¹⁶⁻¹⁷) and accepted section 5 (o. c. 443¹⁸⁻²⁵) (**canon 24**, the lines o. c. 443^{22b-24} are missing) and section 6-7 (o. c. 443²⁶⁻³¹) (**canon 25** and **26**). Section 8 (o. c. 444¹⁻³) is missing from *the series of 35 canons*.

Chapter 16 is on theft. Its first section gives Basil's penance (o. c. 444^{5-7a}) and its second the Faster's (o. c. 444^{7b-11a}). The third section is two-fold: it answers the question whether a thief may be ordained and it states that a priest who steals important goods should be removed from office. The author of *the 35 canons* was not interested in Basil's penance. The two other sections are **canon 27** and **28**. The two sections of **chapter 17**, on desecration of tombs, give Basil's penance (section 1, o. c. 444^{16-17a}) and the Faster's (o. c. 444^{17b-19}). As we might expect, the author of *the 35 canons* only gives the Faster's penance (**canon 29**). His **canon 30** reproduces the whole of the very short **chapter 18**, on sacrilege (o. c. 444²¹⁻²³). Canon 30 is the only one that mentions a penance of a legislator, Gregory of Nyssa, who wrote prior to the Faster. Summarizing his words, the first section of canon 18 mentions Gregory's statement that sacrilege "is punished by a shorter time than adultery" (cf. Gregory's canon 8, Joannou, II 225¹⁶⁻¹⁸). The second section of the chapter prescribes the administration (οἰκονομεῖται) of an excommunication of three years, which we may presume to be the Faster's penance.

Chapter 19 (Rhallis-Potlis IV 444²⁴-444¹⁷), the last of Blastares' synopsis, is more complicated than the two previous short chapters. It consists of five sections, of which it is only the first two, on perjury, that are part of the original text of the *Kanonikon*. Sections 3-5 are later additions. Section 1 gives Basil's penances for involuntary and voluntary perjury (o. c.

¹⁸ See also Rhallis-Potlis IV 442, footnote.

444^{24-27a}). Without making any distinction, the Faster gives his penance in section 2 (o. c. 444^{27b}-445²). As usual, the author of *the 35 canons* only copied the Faster's penance (**canon 31**).

As we have seen, canon 31 is followed by the parallel text of Blastares' chapter 3, on magic (**canon 32**). Blastares' chapter 4 explains the way in which the Faster shortened the stated penances by prescribing abstinence from certain kinds of food in order to compensate for the years of excommunication he deducted. Understandably, the author of *the 35 canons* or a copyist turned this chapter into a kind of prologue. This meant the omission of the penance for apostasy and the Faster's penance for magic. Apparently, in any case regretting the absence of the Faster's penance for magic, the author of *the 35 canons* or a copyist thought fit to adjoin it to the canon on perjury.

Canons 31-35 correspond to sections 3-5 of chapter 19 (o. c. 445³⁻¹⁷), which are interpolations. Was canon 32 originally the last canon of what now is *the series of 35 canons*? The view that this was the case implies the acceptance of the following theory. It is true that the author of *the series of 35 canons* used a more original version of Blastares' synopsis (= text A) than the version published by Rhallis-Potlis IV 432-445 (= text B). This is shown by the fact that these sections of text B are missing from text A: chapter 8, on bi- and trigamy (o. c. 438²⁰⁻²⁵), chapter 10, on a marriage with a heretic (o. c. 439¹⁷⁻³⁰), chapter 15, second part, section 5 and 9 (o. c. 443^{22b-25}, 444¹⁻³). Chapter 10 does not prescribe an epitimy, but only states that the marriage should be dissolved. However, chapter 8 and 15 do mention penances. Therefore, for the author of *the 35 canons* there was no reason to omit chapter 8 and the two sections of the second part of chapter 15. Consequently, supposing that canon 32 was the last canon of a series of canons comparable with text A, it must be accepted that the author of this *series of 32 canons* was also familiar with text B and, taking sections 3-5 from text B, joined them to canon 32 as canons 33-35. This is an improbable theory.

Concluding, we may state that it is clear that the legislation preceding that of the Faster was irrelevant to the author of *the series of 35 canons*, and that, abridging it, he changed Blastares' synopsis — or the Faster's *Kanonikon* — into a more practical penitential *kanonikon* for confessors. We may rule out the possibility that Blastares himself published a shorter version of his synopsis because it is unthinkable that he would have accepted the many interpolations into his own text.

Therefore we can establish this chronology: (1) KAN, (2) the *Kanonikon* by John the Faster, (3) *the series of 35 canons*. As regards the relationship between the *Kanonikon* and *the series of 35 canons* we can even speak of a

genealogy. Unhappily, E. Herman, "Il più antico penitenziale Greco," *OCP* 19 (1953) 71-127 mentions Blastares' synopsis (o. c. 108) but calling them "the *Kanonikon*," only discusses (o. c. 107-118) these works attributed to John the Faster and published by Pitra: (1) the Διδασκαλία μοναζουσῶν (36 canons or *asceticae regulae*) (o. c. 416-428) and (2) a series of 51 epitimies (o. c. 429-435). I believe that, just as the author of *the series of 35 canons* did, the author of *the series of 51 epitimies* also used Blastares' synopsis, but rearranged the order of the rules and added canons of his own or taken from other sources, but a thorough analysis of the text is needed to prove or disprove that theory.¹⁹

1.4 Constantine Harmenopoulos, *Epitome canonum*, PG 150, 45-168

Harmenopoulos (14th century) wrote a work, *Epitome canonum*, which consists of a prologue, a selection of canons and scholia (σχόλια). The prologue lists the texts that are relevant for canon law: the *Canons of the Apostles*, the canons of the ecumenical and certain local councils and those of a number of fathers. The epitome is divided into *sectiones* (τμήματα), which are subdivided into *tituli* (ἐπιγραφαί). The scholia are comments on certain *tituli*. Harmenopoulos also gives rules of John the Faster, whom he calls ὁ Νηστευτῆς Ἰωάννης (PG 150, 136A¹) or simply "the Faster (ὁ Νηστευτής)." The Faster does not figure among the fathers listed in the prologue and his opinions are only given in the scholia. Once Harmenopoulos speaks of "the *Kanonikon* by the Faster," but this happens in the quotation of a rule of Patriarch Nikolas III Grammatikos, who is one of the authorities mentioned in the prologue (PG 150, 49A⁵⁻⁶) (see below section 4.4).

Harmenopoulos was probably familiar with the Faster's regulations through Blastares' synopsis because he also cites sections that are interpolated into Blastares' text. The fact that Harmenopoulos omits to mention a section of the synopsis is no evidence that the section is an interpolation because it does not appear that Harmenopoulos pretends to excerpt all sections of Blastares' synopsis.

2. *Blastares synopsis*

2.1 Blastares' prologue (chapter 1), Rhallis-Potlis IV 432⁶⁻¹⁸

The title or "iambus" with which a copyist provided Blastares' synopsis of the *Kanonikon* is followed by a prologue.²⁰ It is:

¹⁹ *The series of 51 epitimies* is CPG, III, No. 7560 (1).

²⁰ For the term "iambus" see Rhallis-Potlis IV 432, note 1.

[01]

- a) Ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ κατὰ τὸν Νηστευτὴν θεῖον Ἰωάννην τὴν θεραπείαν τῶν ἡμῖν συμβαινόντων θεωρητέον παθῶν καλῶς ἔχειν δοκιμάσαντα, ὡς οἶόν τε ταύτην ἐπιτεμεῖν.
- b) Τῇ φύσει δὲ τοῦ τριμεροῦς τῆς ἡμετέρας ἀκολουθητέον ψυχῆς, καὶ τὰ ἐκάστῳ τῶν αὐτῆς μερῶν ἐπισυμβαίνοντα πάθη κεφαλαιωδῶς ἐπισκεπτέον.
- c) Καὶ πρῶτόν γε τὰ τοῦ φύσει κρείττονος λογικοῦ.

But we must also consider the method of healing of the divine John the Faster, who regarded it to be good to shorten this (process of healing) as much as possible (a). But we must follow the nature of our tripartite soul and chapter-wise consider the *pathoi* befalling each of its parts (b); and, first, the (*pathoi*) of the by nature more prominent *logikon* (c).

Colon (a) clearly presupposes a preceding text, which must have been to the effect that the fathers and synods prescribed remedies for healing the *pathoi*. Since it does not introduce a subordinate clause, the conjunction γάρ is scarcely translatable, unless it is accepted as a pure transitional particle meaning γε (then).²¹ In his canonical letter Gregory of Nyssa frequently uses the term *pathos*. If it does not refer to a bodily illness, it includes both the notion of spiritual disease and of passion. Therefore I do not translate it.

Colon (b) is a summary of Gregory of Nyssa, canon 1, Joannou II 205¹⁶ (τρία ἐστὶ ...)-209 (the end of canon 1). Of the three parts of the soul, the rational, the desiring and the irascible part, the *logikon* is the most important one.

2.2 Chapter 2 of Blastares' synopsis, Rhallis-Potlis IV 432¹⁴-434¹⁴

The prologue is followed by a discussion of the first sin of the *logikon*, apostasy. Blastares writes:

According to the 73rd canon of the Great Basil, he who irrationally renounces Christ voluntarily is deemed worthy of Communion at the end of his life²² and there is nobody who rejects this (canon) on such a punishment (ἐπιτιμία) or dares to use whatever consideration (συγκατάβασις). However, the holy Gregory of Nyssa, comprehending such people's (deeds) by a distinction (διαίρεσει τὰ τῶν τοιούτων περιλαβών), subjects those who voluntarily adhere to the error of their own accord to the same punishments (εὐθύναις) by them (the punishments) determining the measure of each one's life as measure (of penance). However, those who suffer this through force²³ he submits to the sentence for fornication,

²¹ For this possible meaning of γάρ see van de Pavard, *Kanonarion* 31.

²² Basil does not use the words "irrationally" (ἄλογίστως) and "voluntarily" (ἐκόντι). He states that, after he has wept and done penance for his whole life, the apostate is deemed worthy of the holy species at the end of his life.

²³ τοῖς δὲ δι' ἀνάγκην τοῦτο παθοῦσι: we would expect the accusative.

which extends (the punishment to be imposed) on him (αὐτῷ) (sic) to the ninth year. The synod in Ancyra also makes the same distinction, as do the holy martyr Peter of Alexandria²⁴ and, in his 81st canon, the great Basil.

This is the first part of canon 2 of Blastares' synopsis.

The author of the second part (Rhallis-Potlis IV 433⁹-434¹⁴) states that the Church currently follows the decree by Methodios I (patriarch of Constantinople from 843-847). The author gives a version of the decree, which distinguishes three cases. The existence of other versions is shown by M. Arranz, "La 'Diataxis' du patriarche Méthode pour la réconciliation des apostats," *OCP* 56 (1990) 283-322.²⁵ According to V. Grumel the reason for the decree was the fact that in 845 a great exchange of prisoners took place between Byzantines and Arabs.²⁶ The version of Blastares' synopsis is this.

Because, he (Methodius I) says: If someone as a child was captured by the godless men and renounced the faith being forced into subjection (καθυπαθείς) by fear or ignorance or lack of instruction (ἄμαθεία), but grown to maturity again comes back to the Christians' morals, and approaching the catholic Church, is repentant and submits himself to penance, he should daily hear the four prayers imposed by the priest (πρὸς τοῦ ἱερέως)²⁷ till the seventh day, and he should be washed on the eighth day. Thereupon, having undressed and having put on a loincloth, he should be anointed with the holy chrism (μύρω), just as also those who are baptized, and so be deemed worthy of the divine participation (τῆς θείας μεταλήψεως). Thereupon for eight other days he should by no means stay away from the holy gatherings (συνάξεων) in the churches, just as the baptized.

But if someone was captured and, being fully grown up and being forced by torture, abjured the matters of his own faith, even he should meet with clemency (φιλανθρωπία). First then he should fast two forty-day fasts abstaining from meat and cheese and eggs, and not touching wine and oil on the three days of the week.²⁸ In addition, he should perform fervent prayers and as many genuflections as possible. Thereupon, the two forty-day fasts having been completed,

²⁴ For Ancyra see canon 3-6, for Peter of Alexandria († 311) canon 1-2, Joannou II 33-35.

²⁵ Arranz also gives a French trans. For an analysis and German trans. of Methodius' *Diatagma* see H.B. Kraienhorst, *Buß- und Beichtordnungen des griechischen Euchologions und des slawischen Trebniks in ihrer Entwicklung zwischen Osten und Westen* (Würzburg 2003) 102-165, cf. 237-275.

²⁶ V. Grumel, *Les registres des actes du patriarchat de Constantinople*, vol. 1, fascicle 2: *Les registres de 715 à 1043* (Chalcedon 1936) No. 430 (p. 55-56, see p. 56).

²⁷ For the meaning "by" of the preposition πρὸς with the genitive see GEL, s. v. A, II, 1 and 2.

²⁸ The three days in question are the Monday, Wednesday and Friday. See Th. Michels, "Montag, Mittwoch und Freitag als Fastagesystem in kirchlicher und monastischer Überlieferung," *Jahrbuch für Liturgiewissenschaft* 3 (1923) 102-105, cf. J.A. Jungmann, *Die lateinischen Bussriten* (Innsbruck 1932) 71, note 255. Michels' explanation of the origin of this practice, in opposition to that of fasting on the Wednesday and Friday, is somewhat far-fetched. The

he should on each day hear the propitiatory prayers for seven days. Similarly to (what is prescribed to) the former (penitent), on the eighth day he should be washed and anointed and be deemed worthy of partaking of the holy species, and for eight other days attend the gatherings in the churches.

But a terrible canon applies to (ἐπίκειται) him who voluntarily brought himself to renouncement of his own accord. However, through God's ineffable clemency, even he should be healed compassionately. He should then fast for two years abstaining from meat and cheese and eggs. But on the three days of the week he should forsake taking oil and wine, and he should make 100 or 200 metanies depending on the measure of his capacity. But the two years being completed, he too should hear the propitiatory prayers for seven days, and the subsequent (performances) that are explained above should be done in his case as well.

Part 2 of chapter 2 is missing from two of the four MSS cited by Rhallis-Potlis IV for Blastares' synopsis.²⁹ It is probable that Blastares was familiar with Methodios I's decree. However, he is not the author of the second part of chapter 2, otherwise he could not have written in its first part that nobody dared to challenge Basil's lifelong penance for voluntary apostasy. Moreover Methodios' decree was no part of the collection of canons from which Blastares drew his knowledge of canon law.

The first part of Blastares' synopsis implies that even the Faster accepted Basil's penance for voluntary and that of Gregory of Nyssa for involuntary apostasy.

2.3 Chapter 3 of Blastares' synopsis, Rhallis-Potlis IV 434¹⁷-435¹⁴

The second sin of the *logikon* Blastares discusses — in chapter 3 — is magic (γοητεία). The chapter consists of six sections. In the first section, Blastares gives Basil's penance for those who confess magic and φαρμακεία and for those who have recourse to fortune-tellers. Blastares writes: "in his canon 65 the divine Basil submits those who have recourse to magic or *pharmakeia* to the sentence of condemnation of the murderers, which lasts for 20 years. But in the 72nd canon he also (submits to this sentence) those who abandon themselves to fortune-tellers if they then at that time also consent to think the things of those people (εἴ γε τὰ κείνων συνέθεντο τηνικάδε φρονεῖν)" (Rhallis-Potlis IV 434^{16-21a}). The meaning of the last words becomes clear in the next section.

In the second section of chapter 3, Blastares continues, "In the second canon, again making a distinction, Gregory of Nyssa commands admin-

dissertation (131 pages) by J. Herbut, *De ieiunio et abstinentia in ecclesia bizantina ab initiis usque ad saec. XI* (Corona Lateranensis 12, Roma 1968) is unsatisfactory.

²⁹ O. c. 433, note 1.

istering the time (administered) to those who renounce the faith to the people who come to those (superstitions) abandoning the faith, but he orders that those who have recourse to these (superstitions) through some necessity, or faintheartedness should abide by (φυλάττειν) the measure (of time) of those who commit the sin of fornication" (o. c. 434^{21b-27}).³⁰ Since his penance for fornication is nine years (see his canon 4) Gregory prescribes nine years of excommunication for those who involuntarily resort to superstitions.

In the third section of chapter 3, unexpectedly, a reference is made to canon 61 of the Trullan Synod (691/692) (o. c. 434²⁸⁻²⁹), which precedes the references in section 4 to the 24th canon of the Council of Ancyra and to the 36th canon of that of Laodicea. The mention of the Trullan Synod between those of Gregory of Nyssa and the Council of Ancyra impinges upon chronology. Therefore it seems that a copyist who happened to be an expert in the field of canon law could not restrain himself and inserted the reference to the Trullan Synod. References to this synod also appear in: (1) chapter 7 (Rhallis-Potlis IV 438³⁻⁷), (2) chapter 9 (o. c. 439¹⁴⁻¹⁵) and (3) chapter 10 (o. c. 439¹⁷⁻²⁰). For (2) and (3) there is evidence that we are dealing with interpolations into Blastares' synopsis. We may assume that the same interpolator inserted all three references to the Trullan Synod.

Section 4 (Rhallis-Potlis IV 435¹⁻⁴) is: "But the 24th canon of the (synod) in Ancyra extends the punishment of them not further than the 15-year (period).³¹ Read also the 36th canon of the synod in Laodicea discoursing on the various kinds of these (practitioners of magical arts) (κανόνα ... περὶ τῆς τούτων διεξιόντα διαφορᾶς)."³²

Having mentioned canon 36 of the Council of Laodicea, Blastares introduces the fifth section of his chapter on magic writing (Rhallis-Potlis IV 435⁵⁻¹²):

[02]

- a) Ὁ δὲ Νηστευτῆς Ἰωάννης τοῖς γοητεῖαν ἢ φαρμακείαν ἐξαγορεύουσιν ἐπὶ τρία ἔτη τὴν τῆς μετανοίας αὐτοῖς οἰκονομίαν συντέμνει,
- b) εἶγε προθυμηθεῖεν ἡμέρας ἐκάστης περὶ πλείστου τὴν νηστεῖαν ποιεῖσθαι,
- c) καὶ μετὰ (τὴν) ὥραν ἐννάτην ἀπεσκληκλυῖα καὶ ξηρᾶ τροφῇ χρῆσθαι,

³⁰ According to the received text Gregory's rules are found in his canon 3.

³¹ The author of section 3 uses the word synod. Therefore he or a copyist omitted it in section 4.

³² The phrase *περὶ τίνος διεξέρχομαι* or *διέξειμι* is missing from the dictionaries. Canon 36 of Laodicea is: "They who belong to the class of the priests or clerics should not be magicians, charmers (*ἐπαοιδοί*), mathematicians or astrologers; nor should they make so-called amulets, which are chains of their souls. But we command those who wear (them) to be cast out of the Church."

d) καὶ ὅσον ἀτέχνως ἀποζῆν.

e) Ἀλλὰ καὶ προσκυνήσεις ποεῖν διακοσίας πεντήκοντα, τὸ μέτωπον εὐλαβῶς τῇ γῇ προσερείδοντας.

But for those who confess magic or *pharmakeia* John the Faster reduces the administration of the penance (prescribed) for them to three years (a) if they are willing on each day to perform the fast *περὶ πλείστου* (b) and after (the) ninth hour to use desiccated and dry food (c) and to live as simply as possible (d); but also to make 250 obeisances devoutly placing the forehead on the ground.

Line (b): It seems that the Faster considers it as self-evident that a Byzantine Christian should not fast on the Saturday and Sunday.³³ Therefore we may take it that the words “on each day” mean the first five days of the week. What is the meaning of the words *περὶ πλείστου*? In chapter 14, the Faster speaks of a penitent who, having received his penance, does not perform the penitential works the Faster imposes in addition to excommunication, and he uses the phrase *περὶ πλείονος δὲ ῥαστώνην ποιούμενος* (but if he *further* takes it easy [he should complete the stated time of excommunication]) (Rhallis-Potlis IV 442⁵⁻⁶). Perhaps the words *περὶ πλείστου* mean, “(if he is willing to fast) beyond the most (of what is permitted)” implying that the penitent should even abstain from drinking water.

Line (c): This line says that after the ninth hour a penitent may break the fast, albeit by eating dry food. Traditionally, a fast lasts till the evening.³⁴ Although the ninth hour is not exactly three o'clock p. m., the term “the ninth hour” can scarcely mean the evening.³⁵ However, chapters 11 and 14 show that a fast till the evening is also the normal fast for the Faster. In these chapters he writes, *εἰ μέχρις ἑσπέρας νηστεύειν αἰρεῖται καὶ ξηροφαγεῖν* “(if he [the penitent] chooses to fast till the evening and (only then) — the Greek clause is ambiguous — to eat dry food” (Rhallis-Potlis IV 439²⁶) and (if the penitent is fasting) “and towards evening is eating dry food (*καὶ πρὸς ἑσπέραν ξηροφαγοῦντα*)” (o. c. 442³⁻⁴). The words “the ninth hour” not only appear in text 02, c, but also in chapters 7, 9, 17 and 19 (o. c. 438⁹; 439⁴; 444^{19,28}). Therefore we cannot but infer that for the 11th-century John the Faster the evening began at the ninth hour.³⁶

Blastares concludes chapter 3 stating in section 6 that the Faster rules

³³ See van de Paverd, *Quotiescumque* 41-62.

³⁴ O. c. 30.

³⁵ For the various hours of the day in relation to the sun's altitude see, for instance, Mt 20: 1-16.

³⁶ In F. van de Paverd, *St. John Chrysostom, The Homilies on the Statues. An Introduction* (OCA 239, Rome 1991) 170-185 I argue that in 4th-century Antioch the congregation sang the vespers (or the people who did not attend the vespers took the baths) at the 10th hour.

(εὐθύνει) that the penance for magic should also be imposed on women who make amulets (περίαπτα) and practise fortune-telling (o. c. 435¹³⁻¹⁴). In *sectio* 5, *titulus* 3, Harmenopoulos' scholium on Basil's canon 65 is: 'Ὁ δὲ Νηστευτὴς τοὺς γόητας καὶ τοὺς φαρμακοὺς ἐπὶ τριετίαν καταδικάζει, μετὰ μετανοιῶν ἐκάστης ἡμέρας σν' καὶ νηστείας καὶ σκηραγωγίας (hardships). Ὅμοίως δὲ καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας τὰς ποιούσας περίαπτα καὶ μαντευομένας (PG 150, 148D⁷⁻¹¹).

2.4 Chapter 4 of Blastares' synopsis, Rhallis-Potlis IV 435¹⁵-436¹¹

The chapter on magic is followed by a chapter (chapter 4) that is provided with the heading, "How the Faster shortened the years of penance." It is curious that a chapter that mentions the Faster's penance for magic is followed by a special chapter on the Faster's penitential system. A solution for this problem can be contemplated after we have seen the text of chapter 4. It is this:

[03] The Faster's method of shortening the years of penance

- a) Τὸ δὲ οὕτω συντέμνειν ἡμᾶς, φησί, τοὺς τῆς μετανοίας χρόνους οὐκ ἂν δόξειε μὴ λόγον σῶζον τοῖς ὀρθῶς, ὡς οἶμαι, λογιζομένοις.
- b) Ἐπεὶ γὰρ οὔτε παρὰ τῷ μεγάλῳ πατρὶ Βασιλείῳ οὔτε μὴν παρὰ τοῖς ἀρχαιοτέροις τῶν θεσπεσίων ἡμῶν πατέρων νηστεία τις ἢ ἀγρυπνία ἢ γονυκλισίων ἀριθμὸς ὠρίσθη τοῖς ἀμαρτάνουσι, μόνη δὲ τῆς ἱερᾶς ἀποχῆς κοινωνίας,
- c) δεῖν ἡμεῖς ὥθημεν τοῖς γνησίως μετανοοῦσι καὶ τὴν σάρκα σκληραῖς ἀγωγαῖς κατατρύχειν προθυμουμένοις καὶ βίον εὐγνωμόνως μετιέναι τῆς πρώην κακίας ἀντίρροπον κατὰ τὸ μέτρον τῆς ἐγκρατείας ἀντιμετρεῖν αὐτοῖς καὶ τὴν τοῦ χρόνου τῆς μετανοίας ἐλάττωσιν.
- d) Οἶον, εἴ τις οἶνου μὴ πίνειν ἐπὶ ῥηθαῖς ἡμέραις καταδέξαιτο, ἐνιαυτὸν καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐκρίναμεν ἀφαιρεῖν ἓνα τῆς ὀρισθείσης τῷ αὐτοῦ πταίσματι πρὸς τῶν πατέρων ἐπιτιμίας.
- e) Ὡσαύτως εἰ κρέως ἐγκράτειαν ἐπαγγέλλεται πρὸς καιρόν, ἕτερον ἡμεῖς χρόνον ἐκκόπτειν ἐδοκιμάσαμεν, ἢ τυροῦ καὶ ὠῶν, ἢ ἰχθύος ἢ ἐλαίου, καὶ οὕτω καθ' ἐκάστην ἐγκράτειαν ἑνὸς τῶν τοιούτων εἰδῶν ἓνα χρόνον περιαιρεῖν.
- f) Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰ συχναῖς γονάτων κλίσεσι τὸ θεῖον ἐξευμενίζειν αἰρεῖται, ὁμοίως ποιεῖν,
- g) καὶ μάλιστα εἰ φιλότιμον πρὸς ἐλεημοσύνην καὶ τῆς δυνάμεως οὐκ ἀποδέουσιν τὴν προαίρεσιν ἐπιδείκνυται.
- h) Εἰ δὲ καὶ μετὰ τὸ παράπτωμα τὸν θεοφιλῆ τις καὶ μονότροπον βίον ὑπῆλθεν, εἴ τι συντομωτέραν αὐτῷ μνηστεύειν ἄφεςιν καλῶς ἔχειν ἐδοκιμάσαμεν, διὰ βίου μέλλοντι κακοπάθειαν μετιέναι ἀγωγῇ τοιαύτῃ προσήκουσαν.

But, he says, that our so shortening the years of penance may not seem to, as I believe, right-minded men as a non-saving word (a). Because since neither the

great father Basil nor the older ones of our holy fathers determined any fasting or vigil or a number of genuflections (as penance) but only abstention from holy Communion (b), we deemed this to be our duty: to those who genuinely repent and are willing to afflict the flesh by harsh ways of life and in the right spirit to convert to a life that compensates for the previous evil, in accordance with the measure of their self-denying, in return to measure out to them the diminution of the time of their penance (c). For instance, if someone accepted not to drink wine on certain days, we decided to subtract a year from the epitimy fixed for his sin by the fathers (d). Likewise, if he promised abstinence from meat for a time, we regarded (it to be good) to take away another year. Or (if he promised abstinence) from cheese and eggs or from fish or oil, in the same way (we regarded it to be good) to deduct a year for each abstinence from one of these kinds (of food) (e). Not only (this) but also if (someone) chooses to propitiate the divine being by frequent genuflections, (we regarded it as good) to do similarly (f), and especially if he shows a particular inclination for an almsgiving that is generous and not inferior to his capacity (g). But if, following his fall, someone adopted the God-pleasing, monastic life, we regarded it to be good to promise him an even shorter (process of) forgiveness, because, through (the choice of) a *life*, he is going to convert to a hardship that is proper to such a (monastic) way of life (h).

The following pieces of evidence show that chapter 4 is an interpolation. The author speaks of “certain days” (d). As we have seen when considering chapter 3, which mentions the penitential works to be imposed as compensation for his reduction of the stated years of excommunication, the Faster uses the phrase “each day.” He does so as well in chapters 9 (Rhallis-Potlis IV 439⁴), 11 (o. c. 439²⁷), 17 (o. c. 444¹⁹) and 19 (445¹). The arithmetic exercise the author of chapter 4 requires from the confessor cannot possibly be reconciled with the additional penitential works the Faster prescribes. The author of chapter 4 speaks about abstinence from meat and other kinds of food (e). The Faster prescribes fasting, in other words, renouncing all food till evening, although after the ninth hour the penitent should only eat dry food. He imposes this in chapters 3 (o. c. 435⁵⁻⁹), 11 (o. c. 439²⁵⁻²⁷) and 14 (o. c. 442²⁻⁴). If we disregard Methodius I’s penance for apostasy (chapter 2), which includes abstinence from various kinds of food (o. c. 433²³⁻²⁶) there are two authors, both interpolators, who mention abstinence from meat: the author of chapter 12, on sinning with one’s mother-in-law, and the author of the third section of the second part of chapter 15, on the abandonment of an infant. The first text is o. c. 440¹⁰ and the second one, o. c. 443⁹⁻¹⁰. The second author also mentions cheese and he speaks about “certain days” (ibid.). In line f of chapter 4 the author uses the term genuflections. The Faster speaks of προσκυνήσεις (text 02, e) or, as we will see,

metanies.³⁷ To the latter rule there seems to be one exception. In the fifth section of the second part of chapter 15 (o. c. 443^{18-22a}), concerning the case in which a non-baptized child dies through its parents' carelessness, the author of the section uses the term genuflections. This section gives the impression of being written by the Faster. However, I consider the fact that its author uses the term genuflections as evidence that the section is an interpolation.

The interpolator of chapter 4 attributes his text to ὁ Νηστευτῆς Ἰωάννης mentioned by Blastares in chapter 3 (Rhallis-Potlis IV 435⁵). To indicate the views that prompted this John to shorten the traditional periods of excommunication, the interpolator uses past tenses, ὥθημεν (c), ἐκρίναμεν (d), ἐδοκιμάσαμεν (e. h). For the acts required from the penitent to deserve a reduction of the stated penances, he uses the present tense in colons c, e, f and g — τοῖς μετανοοῦσι (c), τοῖς προθυμουμένοις (c), ἐπαγγέλλεται (e), αἰρεῖται (f), ἐπιδείκνυται (g) — but the aorist in colons d and h, καταδέξαιτο and ὑπῆλθεν. This difference of tenses does not imply a difference of meaning. Therefore you can translate καταδέξαιτο with, "(if) he accepts" and, more important, ὑπῆλθεν with, "(if a penitent) adopts (the monastic life)."

Both in colons c and h the author uses the nouns ἀγωγή and βίος, and the verb μετέρχομαι.

Colon (d): For the use of the preposition πρὸς in the sense of "by" see above, note 27.

Colon (h): The words διὰ βίου oppose a monk's *life* of penance to a penitent's separate acts of penance.³⁸

A very simplified version of text 03 is found in the *Nomokanon* that is given by the MS *Panteleimon 311* (15th/16th cent.), canon 2.³⁹ This canon is probably inspired by Blastares' synopsis.

We have still to answer the question why the author of chapter 4 only inserted his text after Blastares' chapter 3, which already includes an example of the Faster's method of healing. I believe the reason to be this: in chapter 3 Blastares mentions the Faster's penance for those who practise magic or *pharmakeia* (Rhallis-Potlis IV 435⁵⁻¹⁰). His penance is a considerable reduction of the penances of previous, highly esteemed legislators. The interpolator deemed it necessary to have the Faster justify this reduction in a special chapter. This chapter also serves as explanation of the other reductions introduced by the Faster.

³⁷ I established the spuriousness of chapter 12 and of the two already mentioned sections of chapter 15 before suspecting that of chapter 4.

³⁸ For the class of monks as τάξις τῆς μετανοίας see Hörmann, o. c. (above section 1.2) 77-80. 272.

³⁹ See van de Paverd, *Quotiescumque* p. 100, text 18, cf. pp. 59.61.106.

[04] Matthew Blastares, Synopsis, chapter 6

- a) Ὅσα γε δὴ τοῦ ἐπιθυμητικοῦ τῆς ψυχῆς ἥρτηται μέρους οὕτω θεραπευτέον (o. c. 436¹³⁻¹⁴).
- b) Ὁ μαλακίαν διαπραξάμενος τεσσαράκοντα ἡμέρας ἐπιτιμᾶται ξηροφαγία διαιτῶμενος καὶ μετανοίας ἐκάστης ποιῶν ἑκατόν.
- c) Ἡ δὲ εἰς ἀλλήλους μίξις, οἷα διπλὴν ἐργαζομένη τὴν μαλακίαν μεχρὶς ὀγδοήκοντα ἡμερῶν τὸ δηλωθὲν ἐπιτίμιον δέχεται.
- d) Εἰ δέ τις τῶν τοῦ κλήρου πρὸ τοῦ ἱερωθῆναι τῷ τῆς μαλακίας περιπέπτωκε πάθει,
- e) μὴ θαρρῶν ἴσως ὡς παρὰ τοῦτο μόνον τῆς ἱερωσύνης ἀποπεμφθήσεται,
- f) ἀποχρῶσαν πρότερον δεξάμενος ἐπιτίμησιν, οὕτως εἰς ἱερωσύνην ἐρχέσθω.
- g) Εἰ δὲ τούτῳ μετὰ τὴν ἱερωσύνην ἐάλω, ἐπὶ ἐνιαυτὸν ἓνα ταύτης ἀργήσας καὶ τοῖς εἰωθόσιν ἐπιτιμίοις σωφρονισθεῖς, πρὸς τὴν ἱερωσύνην ἐπανιέτω.
- h) Εἰ δὲ μετὰ τὴν ἐπίγνωσιν τῆς ἀμαρτίας
- i) δις ἢ τρίς τοῦτο ἐργάσαιτο, τῆς ἱερωσύνης παυσάμενος εἰς ἀναγνωστῶν τάξιν ἐρχέσθω.
- j) Ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν ἢ εἰς ἀσπασμοὺς ἀνδρὸς ἐλθοῦσα καὶ ἐπαφάς, μὴ μέντοι διαφθαιρεῖσα, τὸ τῆς μαλακίας ἐπιτίμιον δέχεται.

One must heal the matters that depend on the desiring part of the soul thus (a). He who has masturbated receives an epitimy of 40 days while following a diet of *xerophagia* and each day performing 100 metanies (b). But the mutual mingling, the one that effects a double masturbation, receives the explained epitimy up to 80 days (c). But if someone of the clergy falls into the *pathos* of masturbation before his ordination (d) maybe lacking courage, as if because of this alone the priesthood will be denied to him (e), he should first receive a sufficient punishment and so be admitted to the priesthood (f). But if he is involved in this (sin) after having received the priesthood, he should be suspended from it for a year, be chastised by the usual epitimies and return to the priesthood (g). But if, after (having acquired) knowledge of the sin (h), he commits it twice or thrice, he should cease to be a priest and be degraded to the rank of readers (i). But of the women, she also receives the epitimy of masturbation who kissed and touched a man without being seduced (j).

Blastares does not mention the Faster in chapter 6. However, in his *Synagma canonum*, letter k, chapter 28 he writes, "Because John the Faster says," and then cites text 04, section d-p and section a-c (in this order) (PG 144, 1381BC⁸).⁴² This makes it likely that the first clause of chapter 5 (a) also belongs to the *Kanonikon*. In chapter 6 Blastares does not mention John the Faster because the fathers preceding him do not legislate on mas-

⁴² For this text and text 05 see also Morin 99, 1st and 2nd column, reproduced in PG 88, 1936A (= parallel text to text 04) and 1933D-1935 (parallel text to text 05).

both *he should first be epitemized and then be considered as worthy* (cf. the words between asterisks with f-g). But if after ordination he is involved (έάλω) in this (sin) (cf. h), according to the view that we have mentioned above, in ignorance or having been taught by another that (it) is no evil, *he should receive the epitimy of a year refraining from celebrating and then celebrate* (cf. the words between asterisks with g). But if he will do it again and a third time, he should no longer celebrate, but be degraded to the rank of a reader (cf. j).

Where Blastares' synopsis and *Syntagma* speak about the candidate's fear of being rejected for the priesthood, the Canonist considers the possibility that the man does not even know to have committed a sin. Which version is the original one? The texts of the synopsis and *Syntagma* include a curious phrase, viz., "But if after (having acquired) knowledge of the sin" (h). Line h implies that, by contrast to what is the case in the received text, this line was preceded by a text that mentions the candidate's ignorance, just as the Canonist does. This is also true when you translate the term έπίγνωσις with "consciousness," which meaning it may have in Rom 3: 20, "(since through the law comes) έπίγνωσις άμαρτίας." Therefore the Canonist's version must be the original one although from his text a copyist might have omitted the words, "(But if he) μετά την έπίγνωσιν της άμαρτίας (will do it again and a third time)."

Did the Faster (1) change the Canonist's text or (2) do the two versions go back to a common source? A parallel with a text of KAN is not only found in chapter 6 of Blastares' synopsis, but also in chapter 14 (see below section 2.11) and in chapter 16 (see below section 2.13). Although this suggests that the Faster was familiar with KAN and used texts of it, the three parallels do not prove this. The Canonist's three texts and, consequently, the Faster's parallel texts are related to the priesthood (see also below section 2.7). The Canonist did not create the rules formulated in these texts himself, but used a source. Although, in contrast to what the Faster does, he fails to mention it, the source of one of his three texts is canon 8 of the Council of Neocaesarea (see below section 2.9). Therefore we cannot rule out that the Canonist and the Faster also independently of each other used a common source for text 04, section d-i and for the parallel text of KAN that is found in chapter 14 (see below section 2.11, text 05). If they used a common source, it probably deals with decisions by a local, plausibly Constantinopolitan synod.

Section e-i: For the expression αποπεμφθήσεται (e) Blastares' *Syntagma* reads ειρχθήσεται; for the phrase αποχρώσαν ... δεξάμενος έπιτίμησιν (f), ικανώς ... έπιτιμώμενος; for the words εις άναγνωστών τάξιν έρχέσθω (i), εις άναγνωστοῦ τ. έ.

Colon (j): This colon is missing from Blastares' *Syntagma*. Since it is dif-

difficult to find a reason why Blastares would have omitted it, a copyist probably inserted it into Blastares' synopsis. In Harmenopoulos this section is, Ἀλλὰ καὶ γυνὴ ἢ εἰς ἀσπασμὸν ἀνδρὸς ἐλθοῦσα τὸ τῆς μαλακίας ἐπιτίμιον δέχεται (*sectio* 5, *titulus* 2, third section of a scholium on canon 4 of Dionysius of Alexandria, PG 150, 136A^{7b-9a}).

2.7 Chapter 7 of Blastares' synopsis, Rhallis-Potlis IV 437²²-438¹⁸

Chapter 7 of Blastares' synopsis consists of seven sections. With the exception of section 5 and 7, chapter 7 gives the Faster's text. However, since the chapter is also part of Blastares' synopsis and through his agency section 1-4 and 6 have come down to us, I consider Blastares as the (final) author. The reason for this becomes clear below.

Chapter 7 is on fornication. Blastares starts by mentioning the penance of nine years in Gregory of Nyssa's canon 4 (section 1, Rhallis-Potlis IV 437²²⁻²³). Next in section 2 (o. c. 437²⁴⁻²⁵) and 3 (o. c. 437²⁶⁻²⁸) he says that in canon 59 Basil gives a penance of seven years, but in canon 21 writes that a married man who commits fornication (πορνεία) deserves a more severe penance than an unmarried man who commits the sin.⁴⁴ In section 4 Blastares states that in canon 60 Basil declares that men and women who violate their vow of chastity commit adultery (o. c. 437²⁹-438²).

The third authority to which chapter 7 refers is canon 44 of the Trullan Synod (section 5, o. c. 438³⁻⁷). The last section of chapter 9 (o. c. 439¹⁴⁻¹⁵) and the whole of chapter 10 (o. c. 439¹⁷⁻²⁰) also refer to the Trullan Synod. For chapter 10 there is evidence that it is an interpolation. In the text as it stands, the two references are separated by the title of chapter 10 "On marriage with a heretic" (o. c. 439¹¹), but they were originally part of one unbroken text (= text X) written by the same author (see below section 2.9). It can scarcely be doubted that the author who refers to the Trullan Synod in chapter 7 and the author of text X are identical. Therefore we may consider this author to be an interpolator. We may also agree that the author who in chapter 3 refers to the Trullan Synod is the same interpolator (see above section 2.3).

The author of the reference to the Trullan Synod (= T) correctly writes that the canon orders monks who commit fornication not to be more severely punished than a *kosmikos* when he commits the sin. The text continues, "I believe (οἶμαι) it to be proper to annul (νικᾶν) this canon because (οἶα) it is later and milder than the other ones" (Rhallis-Potlis IV 438^{5b-7}) (= text G). These words have all the appearances of being a glossator's comment on T's reference to the Trullan Synod because it is very improbable

⁴⁴ Basil does not write this, but explains that he cannot understand why canon law does not consider a man's violation of conjugal fidelity to be adultery.

[04] Matthew Blastares, Synopsis, chapter 6

- a) Ὅσα γε δὴ τοῦ ἐπιθυμητικοῦ τῆς ψυχῆς ἥρτηται μέρους οὕτω θεραπευτέον (o. c. 436¹³⁻¹⁴).
- b) Ὁ μαλακίαν διαπραξάμενος τεσσαράκοντα ἡμέρας ἐπιτιμᾶται ξηροφαγία διαιτῶμενος καὶ μετανοίας ἐκάστης ποιῶν ἑκατόν.
- c) Ἡ δὲ εἰς ἀλλήλους μίξις, οἷα διπλὴν ἐργαζομένη τὴν μαλακίαν μεχρὶς ὀγδοήκοντα ἡμερῶν τὸ δηλωθὲν ἐπιτίμιον δέχεται.
- d) Εἰ δέ τις τῶν τοῦ κλήρου πρὸ τοῦ ἱερωθῆναι τῷ τῆς μαλακίας περιπέπτωκε πάθει,
- e) μὴ θαρρῶν ἴσως ὡς παρὰ τοῦτο μόνον τῆς ἱερωσύνης ἀποπεμφθήσεται,
- f) ἀποχρῶσαν πρότερον δεξάμενος ἐπιτίμησιν, οὕτως εἰς ἱερωσύνην ἐρχέσθω.
- g) Εἰ δὲ τούτῳ μετὰ τὴν ἱερωσύνην ἑάλω, ἐπὶ ἐνιαυτὸν ἓνα ταύτης ἀργήσας καὶ τοῖς εἰωθόσιν ἐπιτιμίοις σωφρονισθεὶς, πρὸς τὴν ἱερωσύνην ἐπανιέτω.
- h) Εἰ δὲ μετὰ τὴν ἐπίγνωσιν τῆς ἁμαρτίας
- i) δις ἢ τρίς τοῦτο ἐργάσαιτο, τῆς ἱερωσύνης παυσάμενος εἰς ἀναγνωστῶν τάξιν ἐρχέσθω.
- j) Ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν ἢ εἰς ἀσπασμοὺς ἀνδρὸς ἐλθοῦσα καὶ ἐπαφάς, μὴ μέντοι διαφθαιρεῖσα, τὸ τῆς μαλακίας ἐπιτίμιον δέχεται.

One must heal the matters that depend on the desiring part of the soul thus (a). He who has masturbated receives an epitimy of 40 days while following a diet of *xerophagia* and each day performing 100 metanies (b). But the mutual mingling, the one that effects a double masturbation, receives the explained epitimy up to 80 days (c). But if someone of the clergy falls into the *pathos* of masturbation before his ordination (d) maybe lacking courage, as if because of this alone the priesthood will be denied to him (e), he should first receive a sufficient punishment and so be admitted to the priesthood (f). But if he is involved in this (sin) after having received the priesthood, he should be suspended from it for a year, be chastised by the usual epitimies and return to the priesthood (g). But if, after (having acquired) knowledge of the sin (h), he commits it twice or thrice, he should cease to be a priest and be degraded to the rank of readers (i). But of the women, she also receives the epitimy of masturbation who kissed and touched a man without being seduced (j).

Blastares does not mention the Faster in chapter 6. However, in his *Synagma canonum*, letter k, chapter 28 he writes, "Because John the Faster says," and then cites text 04, section d-p and section a-c (in this order) (PG 144, 1381BC⁸).⁴² This makes it likely that the first clause of chapter 5 (a) also belongs to the *Kanonikon*. In chapter 6 Blastares does not mention John the Faster because the fathers preceding him do not legislate on mas-

⁴² For this text and text 05 see also Morin 99, 1st and 2nd column, reproduced in PG 88, 1936A (= parallel text to text 04) and 1933D-1935 (parallel text to text 05).

turbation. Therefore Blastares could not oppose the Faster's penances to those of, for instance, Basil.

In terms of contents the texts of Blastares' synopsis and *Syntagma canonum* are exactly the same, with one exception: in its section on masturbation *Syntagma canonum* mentions "49 (μθ') genuflections," not 100 metanies" (see b).

In its wording *Syntagma canonum* has a number of variants (see below). I believe the text of Blastares' synopsis to be closer to that of the *Kanonikon*, and that, quoting the text from memory, he does not use the exact formulation of the original text in his *Syntagma*. As we will see below, between 730 and 800 the third author of KAN, whom I call the Canonist, wrote a text to which text 04 is parallel.⁴³

Colon (b): The *Syntagma* version of this colon is: "But a layman who committed the shameful *pathos* of masturbation is banned from Communion for 40 days eating dry food on them and making 49 genuflections on each of them" (PG 144, 1381B¹⁵-C³). In *sectio* 5, *titulus* 3, in a scholium on canon 4 of Dionysius of Alexandria, Harmenopoulos gives the version of Blastares' synopsis (PG 150, 136A^{5b-7a}).

Colon (c): The *Syntagma* text gives: "The masturbation committed through the mutual mingling effects a double evil because (ἄτε) two souls are defiled. Therefore the perpetrator (ἐργάτης) of this (masturbation) receives the epitimy of being banned from Communion for 80 days and of increasing the number of metanies to 100, adding the appropriate fasting" (PG 144, 1381C³⁻⁸). The words about the metanies and fasting spell out what in Blastares' synopsis is implied by the word (τὸ) δηλοθὲν (ἐπιτίμιον). The synopsis reads, Ἡ ... μίξις, οἷα (διπλὴν ἐργαζομένη τὴν μαλακίαν). For οἷα *Syntagma* gives ἄτε — "properly acc. pl. neut. of ὅστε" (GEL) — so that it seems that the word οἷα is not necessarily the relative pronoun referring to the antecedent μίξις, but can be the accusative plural of the neuter of οἷος and mean "inasmuch as," "seeing that," just as ἄτε does (see also below section 2.7). The Canonist explains the sin of "the mingling" in KAN 66, 9-14 (p. 103) and prescribes a penance of 12 years (see also KAN 92, 21 [p. 140]).

Section d-i: As I have said, a parallel of this section is found in KAN 88, 4-19 (p. 128-129) inserted by the Canonist, who writes:

But if he (a candidate for the priesthood) falls into masturbation before ordination (cf. d) not knowing what it is and not knowing that it bars him from receiving the priesthood, or in ignorance or having been taught this by another, soul-destroying or ignorant (person), but if the man is either wise or pious or

⁴³ See van de Pavard, *Kanonarion* 84, 4-19, p. 128-129. For the date of the Canonist's contributions to KAN see Idem, *Quotiescumque* 113.

both *he should first be epitemized and then be considered as worthy* (cf. the words between asterisks with f-g). But if after ordination he is involved (έάλω) in this (sin) (cf. h), according to the view that we have mentioned above, in ignorance or having been taught by another that (it) is no evil, *he should receive the epitemy of a year refraining from celebrating and then celebrate* (cf. the words between asterisks with g). But if he will do it again and a third time, he should no longer celebrate, but be degraded to the rank of a reader (cf. j).

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difficult to find a reason why Blastares would have omitted it, a copyist probably inserted it into Blastares' synopsis. In Harmenopoulos this section is, Ἄλλὰ καὶ γυνὴ ἢ εἰς ἀσπασμὸν ἀνδρὸς ἐλθοῦσα τὸ τῆς μαλακίας ἐπιτίμιον δέχεται (*sectio* 5, *titulus* 2, third section of a scholium on canon 4 of Dionysius of Alexandria, PG 150, 136A^{7b-9a}).

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The third authority to which chapter 7 refers is canon 44 of the Trullan Synod (section 5, o. c. 438³⁻⁷). The last section of chapter 9 (o. c. 439¹⁴⁻¹⁵) and the whole of chapter 10 (o. c. 439¹⁷⁻²⁰) also refer to the Trullan Synod. For chapter 10 there is evidence that it is an interpolation. In the text as it stands, the two references are separated by the title of chapter 10 "On marriage with a heretic" (o. c. 439¹¹), but they were originally part of one unbroken text (= text X) written by the same author (see below section 2.9). It can scarcely be doubted that the author who refers to the Trullan Synod in chapter 7 and the author of text X are identical. Therefore we may consider this author to be an interpolator. We may also agree that the author who in chapter 3 refers to the Trullan Synod is the same interpolator (see above section 2.3).

The author of the reference to the Trullan Synod (= T) correctly writes that the canon orders monks who commit fornication not to be more severely punished than a *kosmikos* when he commits the sin. The text continues, "I believe (οἶμαι) it to be proper to annul (νικᾶν) this canon because (οἶα) it is later and milder than the other ones" (Rhallis-Potlis IV 438^{5b-7}) (= text G). These words have all the appearances of being a glossator's comment on T's reference to the Trullan Synod because it is very improbable

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that an author only cites a canon of a council to declare it null and void. There is more evidence that we are dealing with a gloss. If T had written text G, we would expect him to have adjoined a similar remark to his mention of canon 61 of the Trullan Synod (on magic) in chapter 3 (see above section 2.3). Prior to this mention of canon 61 Blastares writes that in canon 65 Basil subjects magicians to the penance for murder, 20 years, and in canon 72 applies this penance to those who have recourse to fortune-tellers. Blastares further writes that in canon 2 (canon 3 in the received text) Gregory of Nyssa prescribes a lifelong penance or the penance for fornication (nine years) depending on whether the magic was committed voluntarily or involuntarily. By contrast, canon 61 of the Trullan Synod prescribes a penance of only six years (Joannou I/1, 1977). Therefore in this case a canon of the Trullan synod is also “later and milder than the other ones.”⁴⁵

If we disregard the reference to canon 44 of the Trullan Synod and the gloss, after his mention of Basil’s canon 60, Blastares continues: “But we’, John the Faster says” and he gives the latter’s epitimy (see below). Finally, the author of section 7 first states that the fathers and, in canon 49, especially Basil judge victims of rape to be innocent, and next that in canon 32 Basil rules that because of Nah 1: 9, which is comparable with the Latin principle of *ne bis in idem*, clerics who commit fornication should be removed from office, but not excommunicated (see below).

In chapter 7 this scheme appears in connection with penitential legislation (1) the penances of legislators preceding the Faster (2) the Faster’s penances (3) additional legislation (see also above section 1.3). The Faster also follows this scheme, but in three of the four texts in which he does so the third part relates to the priesthood. Chapter 7 is the exception. Therefore I suspect that in this chapter the third part is an interpolation (see below). If this suspicion is justified — and there are more pieces of evidence — in chapter 7 a scheme appears consisting of the first two parts only. This scheme, in the received text of chapter 7 and in ch. 9, 14 and 16 enlarged by additional legislation, is also found in chapters 9, 11, 14-17 and 19. As we have just seen, in chapter 7 Blastares indicates the second part of the scheme writing, “But we’, John the Faster says” (o. c. 438⁸). Likewise in chapter 9 he writes, “But we’, he says.” (o. c. 439³). From chapter 11 onwards, it is no longer the expression “he says” (φησί) that introduces the Faster’s penance, but the words, “But we say” or “to us it seems” (chapter 14). Therefore the impression is given that in chapters 7 and 9 it is Blastares, and not the Faster, who gives the older legislation and that in the

⁴⁵ It is curious that a Byzantine author, albeit a glossator, blandly states that a canon of an ecumenical council is invalid.

other chapters it is the Faster who does so. I believe that in reality this is the case. Even in chapter 7 and 9 the first part of the scheme is the Faster's text. In these chapters Blastares inserted the word φησί to highlight the Faster's innovative position. For the later chapters he regarded this extra emphasis in addition to the use of the personal pronoun ἡμεῖς to be no longer necessary. However, he did not need the Faster's *Kanonikon* to teach him canon law. Therefore in chapter 7 and 9, copying the Faster's text and suggesting that he wrote it himself, he does not commit plagiarism because he could easily have written the text himself even before he read the *Kanonikon*.

It is now time to give the Faster's penance for fornication (section 6) and section 7 of chapter 7. The Faster's penance is, "But we', John the Faster says, 'assign two years of non-communicating to the fornicator if he is willing (προθυμεῖται) to eat dry food after the ninth hour and to make 250 metanies. If, however, he is unconcerned, he should complete the time fixed by the fathers'" (Rhallis-Potlis IV 438⁸⁻¹⁰). Harmenopoulos mentions the Faster's penance for fornication in a scholium on Basil's canon 59 (*sectio* 5, *titulus* 3). It is, Τὸν πόρνον ὁ Νηστευτῆς ἐπὶ διетίαν καταδικάζει, εἰ μόνον μέχρι ἑσπέρας καθ' ἑκάστην (ἡμέραν) νηστεύει καὶ ξεροφαγεῖ καὶ μετανοίας ποιεῖ σν' (PG 150, 141D¹³-144A^{1a}).

The additional legislation (section 7) is, "But the fathers and especially the 49th (canon) of the great Basil judged the women who are defiled by violent men or masters to be innocent. But the 32nd canon of the great Basil defines that clerics who commit fornication should be removed from office, but not be excommunicated (ἀφορίζεσθαι)" (Rhallis-Potlis IV 438¹³⁻¹⁸). As I have said, the authenticity of this text is suspect because it does not mention the priesthood, but speaks about clerics in general. There are other indications that show the correctness of this suspicion. The author uses the general term "the fathers." In the certainly authentic sections the Faster always mentions a specific authority. Declaring them innocent if there is not any suspicion to the contrary, in addition to Basil, Gregory Thaumaturgus is the only one of the early fathers who discusses the case of women who are raped. It concerns women who were raped during a barbarian invasion.⁴⁶ The author of section 7 of chapter 7 uses the verb ἀφορίζεσθαι. He is not influenced by Basil's canon 38 in the choice of this verb because Basil uses the expression τῆς κοινωνίας τῶν λαϊκῶν ἐξείργω. In the certainly authentic sections the Faster always uses phrases including terms deriving from the stem κοινο-.

⁴⁶ Canon 1, Joannou II 20¹²⁻¹⁵.

2.8 Chapter 8 of Blastares' synopsis, Rhallis-Potlis IV 438²⁰⁻²⁵

In chapter 8, on bi- and trigamists, it is only Basil's penances that are mentioned. The author of the chapter writes that in canon 4 Basil says that some fixed one year for bigamists, but others two years, and that they excommunicate (ἀφορίζουσι) trigamists for three or four years. To a certain extent quoting Basil's words, the author continues: "But as to trigamists we received the custom of a five-year excommunication (ἀφορισμός, Basil: ἀφορίζουσι), that is, when the marriage was not dissolved and when no children were born to them from the previous marriages."⁴⁷ On the one hand, the author does not accept the validity of a trigamy. On the other hand, imposing a penitential excommunication, he seems to tolerate that the couple remains together during and after the five years of excommunication. This is also noteworthy. According to the author, the male partners of a trigamy receive a five-year penance on two conditions: (1) that their union is not dissolved (otherwise they receive a penance of three or four years), (2) their previous marriages must be childless. The author does not specify the penance in the case of a trigamist who does have children from his previous marriages. Should it be six or seven years?

We may assume chapter 8 to be an interpolation for four reasons: (1) it attributes words to Basil he never wrote, (2) the rule he attributes to Basil is deficient, (3) he does not give his own penance, in contrast to what the Faster would have done, (4) a parallel text is missing from *the series of 35 canons* (see above section 1.2). The same interpolator who inserted the last section (section 7) of chapter 7 probably continued, joining chapter 8.

2.9 Chapters 9 and 10 of Blastares' synopsis, Rhallis-Potlis IV 438²⁷-439²⁰

Chapter 9 is on adultery. Copying the Faster's text, Blastares gives the penances of Gregory of Nyssa's canon 6 (18 years of excommunication), of Basil's canon 58 (15 years) and of canon 20 of the Council of Ancyra (seven years). Next, introducing it with the words "But we", he says, he gives the Faster's penance, which is: "we deem him worthy of Communion after three years if he (not only) does not object to (eating) dry food after the ninth hour, but also makes 250 metanies on each day. But when he is careless, he should wait for the end of the time that the fathers fixed" (Rhallis-Potlis IV 439³⁻⁷).

Harmenopoulos mentions the Faster's penance for adultery in the same scholium in which he gives the Faster's penance for fornication. That for adultery immediately follows upon that for fornication. The text on adul-

⁴⁷ For Basil's words, Συνήθειαν ... πενταετίας ἀφορισμόν see Joannou II 102¹⁰⁻¹².

tery is, (Ὁ Νηστευτῆς) τὸν δὲ μοιχὸν ἐπὶ τριετίαν (καταδικάζει) εἰ μόνον νηστεύει καὶ ξηροφαγεῖ καὶ μετανοίας ποιεῖ σν' (PG 150, 144A^{1b-3}).

The third part of the tripartite scheme in chapter 9 is made up of (1) the Faster's reference to canon 8 of the Council of Neocaesarea and (2) a reference to canon 98 of the Trullan Synod. The Faster correctly writes that canon 8 of Neocaesarea states that a man whose wife has committed adultery cannot be admitted to the priesthood, and that when a priest's wife commits adultery, the priest should either divorce his wife or renounce the priesthood. The Canonist's parallel text of these rules is: "women of ordained men, that is, either of deacons or presbyters, wherever they sin, should be epitemized for three years, because they are killers of their priests for these will no longer celebrate if they wish to be together with their wives even for only once."⁴⁸

The reference to canon 98 of the Trullan Synod is, "But the 98th (canon) of the sixth synod condemns him who marries (τὸν νόμῳ γάμου ἀγόμενον) the woman betrothed to another as adulterer."⁴⁹ If we disregard the title "On a union with a heretic" (Rhallis-Potlis IV 439¹⁶), we may assume that the same author continues in chapter 10: "But the 72nd canon of the same (synod) rules that, if an orthodox man joins in wedlock a heretic woman, and vice versa, the marriage is invalid and the illegal cohabitation should be dissolved, but (the partners) continuing to cohabit (ἐπιμενόντας δὲ τούτῳ) should be excommunicated" (o. c. 439¹⁴⁻²⁰).⁵⁰

The first canon of *the series of 35 canons* is the parallel text of chapter 4 of Blastares' synopsis. Therefore parallels of chapter 1 (prologue) and chapter 2, on apostasy, and chapter 3, on magic, are missing from the mentioned series. If we ignore this fact, chapters 8 and 10 are the only two chapters of which a parallel is missing from the series. As we have seen, chapter 8 may be assumed to be an interpolation. This also applies to chapter 10, the chapter including the two references to the Trullan Synod (o. c. 439^{14-15.17-20}).

2.10 Chapter 11-13 of Blastares' synopsis, Rhallis-Potlis IV 439²²-441²⁸

Chapter 11 is: "Of those who fall into incest (1) he who misbehaves with his own sister is banned from Communion for 15 years according to the great Basil. But we order him to be deemed worthy of Communion after

⁴⁸ KAN 80, 17 – 82, 4 (p. 127).

⁴⁹ For the words (τὸν) νόμῳ γάμου ἀγόμενον canon 98 of the Trullan Synod reads, "(Ὁ) πρὸς γάμου κοινωνίαν ἀγόμενος should be subjected to the (penance) for the crime of adultery." The canon includes the restriction, "if the betrothed man is alive."

⁵⁰ For the quoted section of canon 72 of the Trullan Synod see Joannou I 209^{11-18a}. This text is followed by a justification of the rule and specifications, o. c. 209^{18b-210²⁰}.

three years if he chooses to fast till the evening and to make 500 metanies on each day. But (2) he (who misbehaves) with his daughter-in-law (νύμφη) is excluded from Communion for 11 years according to the great Basil. But *we* say, for two years if he is eating dry food after the ninth hour and is making 300 metanies on each day. But if he is a slave of carelessness, he should complete the years fixed by the fathers" (o. c. 439²⁸-440²). It is not surprising that the *Faster* mentions Basil but, in contrast to his habit, omits to mention the pertinent canons. In canon 67 Basil prescribes the penance for murder (20 years) for *adelphomixia*, in canon 68 he enjoins the penance for adultery (15 years) for a marriage in a forbidden degree of consanguinity, and in canon 75 and 76 he commands the imposition of a period of 11 years for incest with a half-sister and the union with a daughter-in-law (νύμφη).

In *sectio* 5, *titulus* 3, in his scholium on Basil's canon 75, Harmenopoulos writes: Τὸν δὲ τοιοῦτον (the perpetrator of incest with one's own sister) ὁ Νηστευτῆς ἐπὶ τριετίαν καταδικάζει μετὰ νηστείας καὶ ξεροφαγίας καὶ μετανοιῶν ἑκάστης ἡμέρας φ'. Τὸν δὲ εἰς νύμφην, ἐπὶ διετίαν μετὰ μετανοιῶν τ' (PG 150, 144B^{11-14a})

Blastares' chapter 12 (Rhallis-Potlis IV 440⁴-441¹⁶) is on incest with one's mother-in-law. It is the only chapter that mentions penitential degrees and it includes several other obvious indications that it is an interpolation. As I say in my introduction, I hope to discuss it within the framework of a study on the penitential degrees in the civil diocese of Pontus of the third and fourth centuries and their reception in the Byzantine Church.

The first clause of chapter 12 is: "The man who, being madly in love with his mother-in-law, does not divorce his wife, is subjected to the same epitimies in accordance with the law that says: 'The matters that are well-established from the beginning are not invalidated by what happens (later)'" (see above section 1.3).⁵¹ Next, the text spells out the other terms of the synod's decree (Rhallis-Potlis IV 440^{9b-12}). The last section of chapter 12 states (o. c. 441¹³⁻¹⁶): Οὗτος ὁ κανὼν καὶ γοήσι καὶ μοιχοῖς καὶ ἀνδροφόνοις ἀρμόδιος καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἐγκλήμασι βαρυτάτοις περιπεσοῦσι, κατὰ τὴν τῶν προσώπων μέντοι σπουδὴν καὶ διάθεσιν περὶ τὴν μετάνοιαν ἢ συστελλόμενος ἢ ἐπιτεινόμενος (This canon is also appropriate for magicians, adulterers and murderers as well as for all those who fall into very serious crimes,⁵² but it reduces or extends [the penance] in accordance with the persons' zeal and disposition as regards penance).

In the same scholium in which he mentions the *Faster's* penances for fornication and adultery, Harmenopoulos gives his version of chapter 12,

⁵¹ With this statement compare Mt 19: 4-7.

⁵² Cf. Basil, canon 7, Joannou II 103²⁶-104⁴.

which he considerably abbreviates. His version is: Ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὸν εἰς πενθέραν. Τὸ δέ γε νῦν ἔχον, ἡ σύνοδος ἐπὶ ἐξαετίαν τοὺς τοιούτους καταδικάζει, ἅμα τοῖς γόησι καὶ τοῖς ἀνδροφόνοις (PG 150, 144B^{14b-17}).

Chapter 13 (Rhallis-Potlis IV 441¹⁸⁻²⁸) is on women who have their periods. It consists of three sections. In the first section (o. c. 441^{18-20a}) its author refers to Dionysius of Alexandria, canon 2 and Timothy I of Alexandria, canon 7. According to the author, these fathers order the women concerned “to touch nothing (μηδενός) of the holy species for up to seven days.” Neither Dionysius nor Timothy prescribes a fixed period of ritual akoinonia.⁵³ If it is accepted that the Faster is the author of the first part, it must also be assumed that he is mistaken about the time of akoinonia ordered by Dionysius and Timothy.

The second section of chapter 13 (o. c. 441^{20b-25}) is: “The old law, too, commands this.⁵⁴ But it does not even allow men to have intercourse, because it happens that on account of this the seed becomes weak and powerless. Therefore not surprisingly (ἐντεῦθεν καὶ) the divine Moses stoned the father of what was damaged, because through lack of self-control (ἀκρασία) he did not wait for the woman’s purification.”⁵⁵ I believe that in any case this second section is spurious. First, if the Faster were the author, since he does so in chapter 15 (o. c. 442¹⁵⁻¹⁸), we would expect him to mention “the old law” before his reference to a father of the Church. Second, Moses has not only never stoned “the father of damaged seed” but also omitted to command stoning such a father. According to Lev 20: 18 the penalty for intercourse with a menstruant is *karet* (cut off), a kind of spiritual ban.⁵⁶ The Septuagint gives, “(the man and woman concerned) shall both be destroyed (ἐξολοθρεύσεται) from among their generation.” Third, the author uses the word ἀκρασία (= ἀκράτεια). This word also appears in the second section of the second part of chapter 15 (o. c. 443¹¹), which may be assumed to be an interpolation (see below section 2.12).

The third section of chapter 13 (o. c. 441²⁶⁻²⁸) is: “But they command (κελεύουσι) her who disregards (καταφρονήσασαν) her impurity and touches the divine mysteries to be excommunicate (ἀκοινώνητος) for 40 days.” The subject implied by the third person plural of the verb κελεύω is not Diony-

⁵³ See F. van de Pavard, “‘Confession’ (*exagoreusis*) and Penance (*exomologesis*) in the *De lepra* by Methodius of Olympus. II,” *OCP* 45 (1979) 45-74, see 51-53.

⁵⁴ Cf. Lev 12: 2.5; 15: 19-20; 25: 26.33.

⁵⁵ The meaning “not surprisingly” of the particle καὶ in expressions such as ἐντεῦθεν καὶ and διὰ τοῦτο καὶ is not found in the dictionaries. However, in Dutch these expressions can be translated literally, with “daarom (dan) ook,” of which “therefore, not surprisingly” is the English trans.

⁵⁶ See R.J. Zwi Werblowski – G. Wigoder (eds), *The Oxford Dictionary of the Jewish Religion* (1977) s. vv. “menstruation” and “karet.”

sus or Timothy, but an unspecified authority. Therefore we may consider the section as an interpolation. The author of the fourth section of the second part of chapter 15 states: "She who despised the foetus, and when it is destroyed by her negligence, pays the penalty for intentional murder." It is also in this statement that its author fails to indicate the authority that prescribes the penance. Section 4 of the second part of chapter 15 can also be assumed to have been inserted by an interpolator, the same one who inserted the clause including the word ἀκρασία.

We may take it that the whole of chapter 13 is an interpolation. Had Blastares already found it in his text of the *Kanonikon*? It is more likely that he did not because otherwise he would probably have omitted it. Therefore it is plausible that the interpolator inserted the section into Blastares' synopsis.

2.11 Chapter 14 of Blastares' synopsis, Rhallis-Potlis IV 441³⁰-442¹²

Blastares' chapter 14 is on *arrenomania*. In the first of its two sections the Faster first gives the penance of Gregory of Nyssa's canon 3 (18 years of excommunication) and that of Basil's canon 62 (15 years).⁵⁷ Next the Faster writes: "But it seems to *us* that such a man should be banned from Communion for three years weeping and fasting, and towards evening eating dry food and making 200 metanies. But if he continues to take it easy (περὶ πλείονος δὲ ῥαστώνην ποιούμενος), he should complete the 15 years" (Rhallis-Potlis IV 442^{2b-6}).

In his scholium on Basil's canon 62, Harmenopoulos gives this version of the first section of chapter 14, Τὸν τοιοῦτον ὁ Νηστευτῆς ἐπὶ τριετίαν καταδικάζει, μετὰ σ' μετανοιῶν καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν (*sectio* 5, *titulus* 3, PG 150, 144D⁸⁻⁹).

The second section of chapter 14 (o. c. 442⁷⁻¹²) is on the abuse of a boy and on the question whether this is an impediment to the child's later ordination. That this section is part of the Faster's *Kanonikon* is again confirmed by Blastares' *Syntagma canonum*, viz., letter a, chapter 14 (PG 144, 1088D).⁵⁸ The text is also found in a section the Canonist inserted into KAN. I give the Canonist's text and that of Blastares' *Syntagma* in parallel columns. I prefer the version of Blastares' *Syntagma* to that of his synopsis because it is obvious that a copyist of the synopsis changed the order of the parts of the text and omitted an essential part. For KAN, I follow the text of

⁵⁷ In canon 62 Basil puts *arrenokoitia* on a par with adultery (15 years according to canon 58), but in canon 7 he mentions six very serious sins, among which *arrenophthoria* and prescribes a penance of 20 years.

⁵⁸ The text is also given by Morin 99D, 1st column, and PG 88, 1933D¹⁴⁻²⁰.

the MS *Munich* 498 (10th or 13th century).⁵⁹ The Greek text is also given by Morin 110D¹¹-E⁸, reproduced by M. Arranz, *I penitenziali bizantini* (Kanonika 3, Rome 1992) 82-84. I only translate the text of the *Kanonikon*, that of KAN is found in van de Paverd, *Kanonarion*, p. 128, section 82, 16-84,3.

[05] Blastares, *Syntagma canonum*, letter a, chapter 14, PG 144, 1088D

Blastares' <i>Syntagma</i>	Kanonarion
a) Ὁ δὲ Νηστευτῆς Ἰωάννης, εἰ παιδίον, φησίν,	Ἐὰν δέ τις παιδίον ὄν, ἢ κοσμικῇ ἢ μοναχικῇ τάξει ὄν ἢ παπαδικῇ,
b) ὑπό τινος ἀνδρὸς μολυνθεῖη.	φθαρεῖς δὲ ὑπό τινος ἀνδρός,
c) εἰ μὲν εἰς τοὺς μηροὺς τὴν ῥοὴν δέξαιτο,	εἰ μὲν εἰς τοὺς μηροὺς καὶ μόνον
d) προσφόρως ἐπιτιμώμενον,	ἐρχέσθω [δὲ] εἰς ἱερωσύνην,
e) εἰς ἱερωσύνην ἐρχέσθω.	καὶ μάλιστα εἰ ἅπαξ ἢ δις ἐγένετο.
f)	Εἰ δὲ πλεῖον τούτου, τουτέστιν εἰς ἀφεδρῶνα,
g) Εἰ δὲ εἰς ἀφεδρῶνα,	να,
h) μηδὲ ὡς ἱερατικοῦ ἀξιούσθω βαθμοῦ.	μηδὲ τὸ σύνολον ἐρχέσθαι εἰς διακόνου ἐμβάθμου ἢ ἱερέως ἀξίαν.
i) Εἰ γὰρ κάκεῖνο οὐχ ἥμαρτε,	Εἰ γὰρ κάκεῖνος (sic) οὐχ ἥμαρτεν,
j) διὰ τὸ ἀνήλικον,	
k) ἀλλ' ὅμως τὸ σκεῦος αὐτοῦ ἐρράγη	ἀλλ' ὅμως τὸ σκεῦος ἐρράγη,
l) καὶ ἱεουργῆσαι αὐτὸν οὐκ ἐνδέχεται, μεμόλутαι γάρ.	καὶ οὐκ ἐνδέχεται αὐτὸν ἱεουργῆσαι, μεμόλутαι γάρ.

But John the Faster says (a), if a child is defiled by some man (b), if (the boy) received the discharge between the thighs (c), suitably epitimized (d), he should be admitted to the priesthood (e). But if (the discharge happened) in the anus (g), he should not at all be deemed worthy of a priestly rank (h) because, although he did not sin (i) on account of his minority (j), nevertheless his vessel is broken (k) and it is impossible that he celebrates, because he is defiled (l).

The received text of Blastares' synopsis first gives its parallel text (Παῖδιον δὲ πρὸς⁶⁰ τινος φθαρέν) of sections a-b and then sections i-k. Line g is missing from the received text of the synopsis, maybe omitted for reasons of pudency. Since section i-k is found in the wrong place and line g is missing, section i-k does not make sense in the received text of the synopsis.

Line (d): Since the boy concerned is innocent (see i), it is curious that he should be "suitably epitimized" according to the Faster.

⁵⁹ The part giving sections of KAN probably date from the 10th century, see van de Paverd, *Kanonarion* 23-24.

⁶⁰ For the use of the preposition πρὸς in the sense of παρά (or ὑπό) see above note 27.

Line (h): The Canonist speaks of the admission to the dignity of an *embathmos* deacon or of a priest, the Faster of the admission to the priesthood. Emperor Alexios I Komnenos (1081-1118) issued an edict of which an edition, provided with an introduction, is given by P. Gautier, "L'édit d'Alexis I^{er} Comnène sur la réforme du clergé," *REB* 31 (1973) 165-177 (introduction) 178-201. In this edict the expression ἑμβάθμοι κληρικοί appears (o. c. 185⁹⁴). Gautier translates it with "clercs titulaires" and, referring to J. Darrouzès, *Recherches sur les ὀφφίκια de l'Église byzantine* (Paris 1970) 73.83-85, explains that the "clerc *embathmos* est le clerc pourvu d'un emploi rétribué."⁶¹

Line (j): For the phrase διὰ τὸ ἀνήλικον the parallel text of the synopsis gives διὰ τὸ ἀτελές (insufficiency) τῆς ἡλικίας.

Colon (l): The parallel text of the synopsis is, καὶ εἰς ὑπουργίαν ἄχρηστον γέγονεν (and he is useless for a sacred ministry).

2.12 Chapter 15 of Blastares' synopsis, Rhallis-Potlis IV 442¹⁵-444³

Chapter 15 of Blastares' synopsis, devoted to sins deriving from the irascible part of the soul, is about various forms of killing. It consists of two parts. The **first part** is on simple murder (φόνος). In the first section of the first part, the Faster writes that "the old law orders a murderer to be killed and that Basil's canon 56 excludes (ἐξοστρακίζει) the voluntary (perpetrator of) murder (τὸν ἐκούσιον φόνον) from Communion for 20 years and the involuntary murderer for 10 years (Basil prescribes the second penance in canon 57). The Faster continues: "But we banish for three years if then together with the fast till evening the murderer (αὐτόχειρ) uses extremely dry food (ἀκροτάτη χρῆται ξηροφαγία) and is willing to make 300 metanies on each day. But if he is slothful (νωτρῶς διακείμενος) he should complete the father's penance (ὅρον)" (o. c. 442^{18b-21}).

Undoubtedly, the noun αὐτόχειρ means an intentional killer.⁶² In addition to that for premeditated murder, we expect the Faster to mention his penance for unintentional killing, just as he gives Basil's penance for this offence. Instead of doing this, in the received text his penance for premeditated murder is followed by a reference to "the 22nd canon of the synod in Ancyra." Therefore a copyist must have omitted the Faster's text on unintentional murder. Considering the fact that Basil's excommunication for the involuntary murderer is 10 years shorter than that for intentional killers, we may assume that the Faster reduced the 10-year excommunication

⁶¹ In van de Paverd, *Kanonarion* 96 I suggest that the term "embathmos deacon," which occurs in KAN, line 60,20, 84,1 and 90,15 and DID, doc. 59 is used to distinguish the deacon from other servants.

⁶² See GEL, s. v. III and s. v. αὐτοχειρίζω.

to two years plus other penitential works, just as he reduces Basil's 10 years for intercourse with one's daughter-in-law to two years of excommunication plus fasting etc. (see above section 2.10).

Harmenopoulos gives his version of the Faster's penance for voluntary and involuntary murder in his scholium on Basil's canon 56 and 57 (*sectio* 5, *titulus* 3). It is: τοὺς φονεῖς, ὁ Νηστευτῆς τοὺς μὲν ἐκουσίους ἐπὶ πενταετίαν καταδικάζει, τοὺς δὲ ἀκουσίους ἐπὶ τριετίαν (PG 150, 146D¹³⁻¹⁵). These penances are the same as those of canon 20 of *the series of 35 canons* (see above section 1.3). Whether Harmenopoulos (fl. 14th cent.) was influenced by the series or vice versa is hard to establish. It is also possible that he and the author of the series independently of each other supposed these penances to be the Faster's.

In the second section of the first part of chapter 15 (Rhallis-Potlis IV 442²²⁻²⁵) according to the *textus receptus* the Faster states that the 22nd canon of the synod in Ancyra says that the former rule commands those who commit unintentional murder to partake of what is perfect after (an excommunication) of seven years (ἐν ἑπταετίᾳ), but the second one (commands the culprits) to accomplish (ἀνύσαι, Ancyra: πληρῶσαι) the five-year period. This text is an almost literal quotation of canon 23, not of canon 22 of Ancyra, the main difference between the texts of the synopsis and Ancyra being that according to the latter the years of excommunication should be divided "over the fixed degrees." The reading ὁ δὲ κβ' (κανὼν) τῆς ἐν Αγκύρᾳ συνόδου is probably a scribal error for "ὁ δὲ κγ'...." Since the Faster always mentions earlier penances before giving his own ones, a copyist committed two other inaccuracies. Having failed to copy the penances of Ancyra, which the Faster gave before his own penances, the copyist became aware of his mistake and decided to give the synod's penances immediately after having copied the Faster's penance for intentional murder, but then forgot to transcribe the Faster's penance for unintentional killing or did not do so for other, technical reasons.

In the third and last section of the first part of chapter 15 (o. c. 442²⁶⁻²⁹) the author of the section first refers to Basil's canon 13, on those who kill during wars, and correctly writes that Basil orders an excommunication of three years. Next the author says that in canon 55 Basil prescribes the same penance for laymen who participate in a posse against robbers and kill, and removal from office for clerics who do this. In truth, Basil does not specify for how long laymen should be excommunicated. This is a minor problem. The Faster might have thought Basil was implying an excommunication of three years. More important, the author does not give his own penance. Does this show the section to be an interpolation? It is also possible that a copyist omitted the Faster's penance.

Women are the subject matter of the **second part** of chapter 15 (Rhallis-Potlis IV 443¹-444³). This part consists of eight sections, of which the eighth is the first section of chapter 16 (see below). It is only section 1-5 that deals with sins comparable with murder. The first of these sins is abortion (section 1). The Faster writes this. Basil's canons 2 and 8 are about women who intentionally destroy embryos and about women who give abortifacient drugs and those who receive them "so that they miscarry (ἀμβλωθρίσαι) and the infants are born untimely."⁶³ All these women deserve the sentence of condemnation for murder according to Basil (o. c. 443^{1-4a}). The text continues in section 2, Ἡμεῖς δὲ μέχρις ἐτῶν πέντε ἢ καὶ τριῶν τὸ πλεῖστον οἰκονομεῖσθαι ταύτας ὀρίζομεν (But we rule that up to five or three years at the most must be administered to the women) (o. c. 443^{4b-6a}).⁶⁴ For simple murder the Faster prescribes an excommunication of three years. For this reason and because of the place of the adverbial expression "at the most" we may take it that a copyist inserted the number "five." The last rule of section 2 is, "But she who involuntarily miscarries (ἡ ἀκουσίως τὸ βρέφος ἀποβαλοῦσα) receives the epitimy of one year" (o. c. 443^{6b-7}). The Faster might have considered spontaneous abortion to be a form of unintentional killing, for which, according to my conjecture, he prescribes an excommunication of two years. However, the next section (section 3) is an interpolation. Therefore it cannot be ruled out that the author of section 3 also wrote the last rule of section 2.

Section 3 of the second part of chapter 15 (o. c. 443⁸⁻¹⁵) is:

(1) But she who overlays the infant and smothers (it) is deemed worthy of Communion after three years when she abstains from meat on fixed days as well as from cheese, and painfully performs the other matters. (2) And if this happens through carelessness or the parents' lack of self-control (ἀκρασία), it is equated with (παρεΐκασται) intentional murder. (3) But (if it happens) through a plot of the adversary, the matter is worthy of forgiveness. (4) But this also deserves proportionate (μετρίων) epitimies because this abandonment (ἐγκατάλειψις) happens because of other sins.

The wording of the first rule, which includes the vague expressions "fixed days" and "the other matters," is different from that in which the Faster prescribes his additional penitential works. Therefore the rule may be assumed to be an interpolation. The author of the second rule speaks of a penance for intentional murder. According to the Faster this penance is three years of excommunication, the same penance as the author of the first rule prescribes for smothering an infant. Therefore if the author of

⁶³ The verb ἀμβλωθρίζω is a *hapax* see PGL, s. v.

⁶⁴ Of the words ἢ καὶ the particle καί is pleonastic, see van de Paverd, *Kanonarion* 32.

the second rule had meant the Faster's penance, he could have said "the same penance" should be imposed for smothering an infant. Since he does not do so, speaking of the penance for intentional murder, he must mean Basil's penance, and not the Faster's. Therefore we may take it that the author of the second rule is also an interpolator, probably the one who inserted the first rule. If we assume that the same author also wrote the third rule — which includes the vague expression "appropriate epitimies" — the fourth rule could be interpreted as an afterthought. However, the fourth rule could also be a gloss on the third rule. The expression "appropriate epitimies" certainly implies an excommunication. If I am not mistaken, the term ἡ ἐγκατάλειψις in the sense of an excommunication, the Church's abandonment of one of her members, is unique.

Section 4 of the second part of chapter 15 is (Rhallis-Potlis IV 443¹⁶⁻¹⁷): Ἡ καταφρονήσασα τοῦ κυήματος, καὶ τῇ ἀμελείᾳ ταύτης ἀποφθαρέντος, ἐκουσίου φόνου δίδωσι δίκας (The woman who despised the foetus, and when it is destroyed by her negligence, pays the penalty for intentional murder). According to the second rule of section 3 of chapter 15 it happens that an infant is smothered because of the parents' negligence and lack of self-control. The author of this rule (author X) states that this crime of negligence and lack of self-control is tantamount to "intentional murder" and he implies that it deserves Basil's penance for intentional murder. It can scarcely be doubted that the author who in section 4 of the second part of chapter 15 writes that a woman through whose negligence a foetus is destroyed "pays the penalty for intentional murder" is identical with author X and requires the same — Basil's — penance for this crime. Disregarding the context into which he inserted his rule and without mentioning his source author X was inspired by Basil's canon 33: "The woman who gives birth to a child (ἡ γυνὴ κυήσασα) during a journey and neglects the infant (κύημα⁶⁵) is submitted to the accusation of murder." We may rule out that the Faster wrote section 4 of the second part of chapter 15.

The fifth section of the second part of chapter 15 is (Rhallis-Potlis IV 443¹⁸⁻²⁵): "When a non-baptized child dies through its parents' negligence, they are excluded (ἐκβάλλονται) from Communion for three years, eating dry food during them and by genuflections propitiating God as well as by weeping and almsgiving according to their ability. But when the infant is seven years of age and departs while it is non-baptized, they are excluded from Communion for up to 40 days and are sentenced to eating dry food on them and to making 40 metanies on each day."⁶⁶ This section bears the

⁶⁵ The meaning "infant" for κύημα is missing from the dictionaries, but in Basil it can only have this meaning. In botany it can mean "a cabbage-sprout" (GEL, s. v. II).

⁶⁶ The second penance presupposes a rule ordering the baptism of an infant within seven

marks of being written by the Faster. However, the use of the term genuflections for that of metanies reveals, I believe, that its author is an interpolator (see above section 2.4).

Section 6: Basil's canon 71 is about accessories to a crime in general and states that they are liable to the same penalty as the perpetrators are. Referring to Basil's canon, the author of section 6 of the second part of chapter 15 (Rhallis-Potlis IV 443²⁶⁻²⁸) applies Basil's principle to a nun who is aware (συνεγνωκυῖα) of a case of adultery (μοιχεία) or child abuse (παιδοφθορία) and does not tell it to her superior (τῇ προεστῶσῃ). The συνεγνωκυῖα "has the same epitimy as the perpetrator has (ἴσον ἔχει τὸ ἐπιτίμιον τῇ πραττούσῃ)."⁶⁷ If the Faster had written section 5, we would expect him to give the penance for *paidophthoria*. Gregory of Nyssa, the only early Father to discuss this matter, prescribes a penance of 18 years for this, twice as much as that for fornication (canon 4, Joannou II 214¹⁴⁻¹⁹. 215-216). Since the Faster does not mention a penance for pederasty, section 5 may be assumed to be an interpolation. It would be interesting to know the historical and social background of section 5. We may wonder whether it ever happened that a nun confessed to have been aware of a case of adultery or *paidophthoria* and did not inform her superior, although the term μοιχεία might refer to the violation of the vow of virginity (cf. Basil, canon 60).

The seventh section of the second part of chapter 15 (Rhallis-Potlis IV 443²⁹⁻³¹) is also an interpolation. The section is irreconcilable with the Faster's lenient legislation and the author of the section does not refer to a specific canon, but uses the generic term "the law." The section is, "The law punishes (κολάζει) women who abandon (τὰς ἐκτιθεμένας) their infants at the entrances of churches as murderesses, even if some people pick up the foundlings and adopt (περιποιέω) them." Probably, according to the author murderesses deserve Basil's penance for intentional murder.

Section 8, the last one in the second part of chapter 15 (o. c. 444¹⁻³) is on robbers. Without mentioning any previous canons, it says that robbers are submitted to the sentence for homicide "because they even take murder as help for attaining the intended goal." The author does not say so, but he quotes Gregory of Nyssa's words (canon 6, Joannou II 223³⁻⁵). For Gregory of Nyssa robbery is not caused by the irascible part of the soul, but is part

days after its birth. I could not find when this rule was introduced, cf. PGL, s. v. βάπτισμα I. "infant baptism" (p. 287).

⁶⁷ Basil speaks of ὁ συνεγνωκῶς and probably means a person who *helps* in an illegal act or an accomplice ("Mittäter") because if ὁ συνεγνωκῶς does not confess, but is convicted he is punished in the same way as the perpetrator (ὁ ἐργάτης) is. In Blastares' synopsis ἡ συνεγνωκυῖα might be a nun who knows the details of an illegal act without helping in it or a simple "Mitwisserin." For this note see *The Oxford Dictionary and Thesaurus* (1997) s. vv. "accessory" 3 and "accomplice."

of a special, fourth category of sins in addition to those deriving from the *logikon* and the desiring and irascible parts of the soul. Robbery is part of the category of sins whose root is *pleonexia*, “the second kind of idolatry” (Canon 6, Joannou II 220²⁶, cf. Eph 5: 5; Col 3: 5 cited by Gregory). Chapter 16 of Blastares’ synopsis is entitled “on theft.” Therefore, properly, section 8 of the second part of chapter 15 should be the first section of chapter 16.

2.13 Chapter 16 of Blastares’ synopsis, Rhallis-Potlis IV 444⁵⁻¹⁴

Basil’s canon 61 gives his penances for the thief: one year of excommunication if he confesses, two years if he is convicted. Mentioning the canon, in chapter 16 the Faster first gives its contents. Then he writes, “But we ban the thief who of his own accord repents from Communion for up to 40 days, but (the thief who) is convicted, for six months when after the ninth hour he eats dry food and makes 100 metanies on each day.” In *sectio* 5, *titulus* 3, Harmenopoulos’ scholium on Basil’s canon 61 is: τὸν τοιοῦτον (the thief) ὁ Νηστευτῆς ἐπὶ μὴν ἡμέρας καταδικάζει. Τὸν δὲ ἐλεχθέντα ἐπὶ μῆνας ἕξ ξηροφαγοῦντα καὶ μετανοίας ρ’ ἐκάστης ἡμέρας ποιοῦντα (PG 150, 148C⁴⁻⁶).

The Faster’s last two rules of chapter 16 are: “(1) But he who is caught (ἐαλωκώς) in public theft of (περί) the so-called κεφαλαιώδη κλέμμαδα is not admitted to the priesthood. (2) But if, after (having received) it (the priesthood), he falls into this *pathos*, he is deprived of the priesthood according to canon 25 of the holy Apostles.” These rules are also found in a section the Canonist inserted into KAN. The Canonist’s words are: “(1) But if someone steals κεφαλαιώδη κλέμμαδα, he should not be admitted to the priesthood. (2) Likewise they who are ordained (οἱ μετὰ τὴν ἱερωσύνην ὄντες) and steal should no longer celebrate.”⁶⁸ Canon 25 of the Apostles does not speak of κεφαλαιώδη κλέμμαδα, but simply states: “If a bishop or a presbyter or a deacon is caught in fornication or perjury or theft, he should be removed from office, and not excommunicated, because Scripture says, ‘he will not take vengeance twice at the same time’ (Nah 1: 9). (This) likewise also (applies to) the other clerics.”

The fact that in the second rule of Blastares’ synopsis the word *pathos* appears confirms that it is the Faster who wrote chapter 16. The use of the term “capital goods” shows that he took his rules either from KAN or from a source the Canonist also used (see above section 2.6, comment on text 04, d-i). His mention of canon 25 of the Apostles proves his expertise in the field of canon law.⁶⁹

As we will see shortly, chapter 17 of Blastares’ synopsis is on *tymborychia*. If the Faster had written section 8 of the second part of chapter 15,

⁶⁸ van de Pavard, *Kanonarion* 84, 20 – M 405, 28 (p. 129).

⁶⁹ I discuss the term κεφαλαιώδη κλέμμαδα in o. c. 131.

on robbery, he would probably have placed it between his discussion of the sin of simple theft and that of *tymborychia* because that is the order in which these offences appear in Gregory of Nyssa's canonical letter, viz., in canon 6 and 7.

2.14 Chapters 17-18 of Blastares' synopsis, Rhallis-Potlis IV 444¹⁵⁻²³

As I have said, chapter 17 is on the desecration of graves. The Faster writes (Rhallis-Potlis IV 444¹⁶⁻¹⁹): "Canon 66 of the great Basil rules that the desecrator of graves must be excommunicated (ἀκοινώνητος) for 10 years, but we (say that he must be excommunicated) for one year eating dry food after the ninth hour and making 200 metanies each day."

According to Harmenopoulos, *sectio* 5, *titulus* 3 (PG 150, 149A¹¹⁻¹³) "canon 16" of Gregory of Nyssa is: Ὁ τυμβωρύχος ἐξαγορεύων (καὶ τὰ ἴδια διανεμέτω τοῖς πένεσι (should also give his property to the poor [in addition to performing the penance imposed on the ἱερόσυλος; see "canon 8" of Gregory]) (PG 50, 149A⁹⁻¹⁰). It is obvious that Harmenopoulos did not check his sources. For grave-robbing with intent of misappropriation Gregory of Nyssa states that this crime "was condemned by the same sentence of condemnation by which simple fornication is" (canon 7, Joannou II 215⁸⁻²⁷), that is, the criminal desecrator of a grave is condemned to nine years of excommunication (see canon 4, Joannou II 224²²⁻²⁴).⁷⁰ Harmenopoulos goes on, τὸν τοιοῦτον (τὸν τυμβωρύχον) ὁ Νηστευτῆς ἐπὶ τριετίαν καταδικάζει (PG 150, 149B^{1-2a}).⁷¹

Chapter 18 of Blastares' synopsis (o. c. 444¹⁶⁻¹⁹) is: "According to the holy Gregory of Nyssa sacrilege is punished by a shorter time than adultery. But (the penance of) up to three years is administered (to the sacrilegious)." The penance of three years may be assumed to be that of the Faster. Gregory of Nyssa's penance is found in the last clause of his chapter 8 (Joannou II 225¹⁸⁻²¹).

2.15 Chapter 19 of Blastares' synopsis, sections 1 and 2, Rhallis-Potlis IV 444²⁴-445²

In the first section of chapter 19 (o. c. 444^{24-27a}) the Faster writes that "the 82nd canon of the great Basil rules (1) that those who are forced to perjure should abstain from Communion for three years, but (2) those (who

⁷⁰ In the present article I cannot enter into the question why Gregory speaks of "simple fornication." For Gregory *tymborychia* is to a certain extent justified when stones are needed for a public building.

⁷¹ Harmenopoulos continues, Τοῦ αὐτοῦ Νηστευτοῦ, which words introduce his parallel texts of sections 4 and 5 of chapter 19, see below.

perjure) without coercion should stay away from it for 10 years.” In reality, it is in canon 64 that, without making any distinction, Basil prescribes that the perjurer should be excommunicated for 10 years. In canon 82, for those who without coercion perjure he prescribes two years of weeping, two years of hearing, five years of prostration and two years of co-standing with the faithful without partaking of Holy Communion — in other words, 11 years of excommunication. For those who involuntarily perjure he orders six years, not three. In the second section of chapter 19 (o. c. 444^{27b}-445²) the Faster writes, “But we believe that they must defer (receiving) Communion for one year eating dry food after the ninth hour and making 250 metanies on each day.” Since the Faster does not make a distinction between the voluntary and involuntary perjurer, I suspect that he refers to Basil’s canon 64 correctly giving its contents, and that, wishing to emend the Faster’s text, a copyist changed the reference to canon 64 into a reference to canon 82, incorrectly reproducing its contents.

In *sectio* 5, *titulus* 3 Harmenopoulos’ scholium on Basil’s canon 64 is: Τοῦτον (the perjurer) ὁ Νηστευτῆς ἐπὶ ἔτος ἓν (καταδικάζει) ξηροφαγοῦντα καὶ νηστεύοντα μέχρι ἐσπέρας καὶ μετανοίας ποιοῦντα σν’ (PG 150, 148C¹¹⁻¹³).

2.16 Three last sections of chapter 19 of Blastares’ synopsis, Rhallis-Potlis IV 445³⁻⁸

Section 3 of chapter 19 of Blastares’ synopsis is (o. c. 445³⁻⁸):

[06]

- a) Γυνή οὔτε λαϊκή οὔτε μονάζουσα δι’οἶονδῆποτε παῖσμα τῆς ἐκκλησίας χωρίζεται,
- b) ὅτι μὴ μόνον τῆς κοινωνίας.
- c) Λέγει γὰρ ὁ κανὼν ὅτι τοῦτο ποιοῦμεν
- d) διὰ τὸ πολλάς ὑπὸ αἰσχύνῃς ἑαυτὰς διαχειρίσασθαι.
- e) Ὡσπερ οὔτε πρεσβύτερος οὔτε διάκονος διὰ τό, Ὅυκ ἐκδικήσεις δις ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό (cf. Nah 1: 9).

Neither a lay woman nor a nun, through whatever sin she is separated from the Church (a) ὅτι μὴ μόνον τῆς κοινωνίας (b). For the canon says that we do this (c) because of the fact that out of shame many women behave themselves (so) (d). Just as neither the presbyter nor the deacon (are excommunicated), because of the word, “You shall not take vengeance twice at the same time” (cf. Nah 1: 9) (e).

In line a, the author means a self-excommunication through the sin itself or *ipso facto*. It is clear that line b does not make sense. I suggest the following solution. The author draws a parallel between the treatment of, on the one hand, a presbyter and a deacon who sin and, on the other hand, a sinful woman. He implies the *tertium comparationis*: a presbyter

and deacon are not excommunicated — because of (διὰ τὸ) the principle of *ne bis in idem* (d) —; women are not excommunicated — because of (διὰ τὸ) the fact that they stay away from Communion of their own accord (c). Therefore line b must mean that confessors should not excommunicate women. The corruption of line b is caused by the fact that a copyist rejected this “unorthodox” view. Perhaps the line was to the effect that confessors could impose penances on women — just as sinful presbyters and deacons receive a penance, removal from office — but only not (μὴ μόνον) excommunication.⁷²

Canon 12 of *the series of 51 epitimies*⁷³ is the parallel text of section 3 of chapter 19 of Blastares’ synopsis.⁷⁴ The text of canon 12 is:

Neither a lay woman nor a nun, in whatever epitimy (she may be) is never separated from the church (cf. a), but only (εἰ μὴ μόνον) from Communion (cf. b). Just as neither a presbyter nor a deacon (is never separated from the church, but only from Communion) (cf. e), as the canon also pleads for (ὑπολογεῖται) them (cf. c). We do this because of the fact that many women out of shame behave themselves (so) (cf. d).⁷⁵

In my translation of canon 12, I write “church,” and not “Church” because I believe its author to mean that women should never be impeded from entering the church, but only Holy Communion should be denied them when they are “in an epitimy.” In canon 12 women and clerics have this in common that they can only be excluded from Communion. However, as regards the clerics canon 12 is in contradiction with Nahum’s principle of *ne bis in idem*: clerics who sin should be removed from office, but not excluded from Communion. In addition, if “many women” who have sinned stay away from Communion of their own volition, it is sufficient to forbid Communion to the few who otherwise would have received it. It is clear that the text of canon 12 of *the series of 51 epitimies* is an awkward adaptation of the third section of chapter 19 of Blastares’ synopsis.

Section 4 of chapter 19 is a dietary rule. It is (Rhallis-Potlis IV 445⁹⁻¹¹): “If something unclean has fallen into a well or into oil or wine, he who tastes of it should not touch meat and cheese for three days, but for seven days he should not communicate.” In Harmenopoulos, *sectio* 5, *titulus* 3, a scholium on Gregory of Nyssa’s “canon 16” (PG 150, 149B^{4b-7a}).

K. Böckenhoff, *Speisesatzungen mosaischer Art in mittelalterlichen Kir-*

⁷² For the meaning of “only not” of the words μὴ μόνον see, e. g., Gal 5: 13.

⁷³ See above end of section 1.3.

⁷⁴ Pitra 431.

⁷⁵ Pitra changed the verb διαχειρίσασθαι into διαχωρ. (o. c. 431, note 4). This conjecture is unnecessary.

chenrechtsquellen des Morgen- und Abendlandes (Münster in W. 1907)⁷⁶ 30 points out that a parallel text of section 4 of chapter 19 is found in the *Sanctorum Athanasii et Chrysostomi epitimia XXIX* published by Pitra 457-465. Canon 4 of these epitimies reads: "if any carrion (θνησιμαῖόν τι) or dirt falls into a well or pond (λάκκος) or another reservoir, and someone drinks from it in ignorance, he should fast for 12 days, be taught (κατηχιζέσθω) by the priest and thus communicate. But if (he drinks from it) knowingly, he should fast for 40 days" (Pitra 557).

There are customs of the Latin Church that are comparable with the Greek practices. Böckenhoff mentions them for three periods: (1) the observances of the Celtic Church before the time of Theodore of Tarsus († 690) (o. c. 57), (2) of the same Church during Theodore's episcopacy of Canterbury (o. c. 71) and (3) the practices prescribed in penitential books that do not go back to Cummean (Long[i]us) († 661/662) or Theodore. Canon 5 of *the collection of the 29 epitimies by Athanasius and Chrysostom* prescribes a rite for the purification of polluted water (Pitra, l. c.). Very similar regulations are found in Latin penitentials (Böckenhoff, o. c. 113). Goar, 478-482 gives *ordines* for the purification of the water in a well and other reservoirs when an animal or some other matter happens to fall into them. Goar's Τάξις γινομένη εἰ συμβῇ τι μιάρὸν οἶονδῆποτε ἐμπεσεῖν εἰς φρέαρ ὕδατος (478) and Τάξις γινομένη εἰ συμβῇ τι μιάρὸν ἢ ἀκάρθατον προσφάτως (recently) ἐμπεσεῖν εἰς ἀγγεῖον οἴνου ἢ ἐλαίου ἢ μέλιτος ἢ ἄλλου τινός (481) are adopted by the *Euchologion to mega*.⁷⁷

In regard to the Latin practices Böckenhoff speaks of "die Einführung der griechischen Lustrationsriten über verunreinigten Speisen" (o. c. 71)⁷⁸ and of, "Eine neue Invasion griechischer Speiseobservanzen fand dann durch Theodor von Canterburys Wirksamkeit statt" (o. c. 112) that is, "new" in regard to the introduction of dietary laws prior to Theodore of Tarsus' time (see o. c. 50-52). If Böckenhoff is right — and we may believe him to be — in terms of contents the rules of section 4 of chapter 19 of Blastares' synopsis and canon 4 of the 29 epitimies attributed to Athanasius and Chrysostom are older than the year (672 or 673) in which Theodore of Tarsus "summoned, and presided over, the first important synod of the

⁷⁶ My attention to this book was drawn by the doctoral thesis, J.M.D. De Waardt, *Voedselvoorschriften in boeteboeken. Motieven voor het hanteren van voedselvoorschriften in vroeg-middeleeuwse Ierse boeteboeken 500-1100* (Pantaleon Reeks 22) Rotterdam (Erasmus Publishing) 1996. The dissertation relies to a great extent on Böckenhoff's book.

⁷⁷ See ed. Astir (Athens 1980) 488.489. The euchologion omits the words ἢ ἐλαίου.

⁷⁸ The Greek rites mentioned are for the *lustrationes* of the receptacles of fluid, not for the purification of the fluids themselves. However, there is also a prayer "over polluted grain (σίτος) or wheat (ἄλευρον) or any other article of food," see Goar, 482⁴²; *Euchologion to mega* 491.

whole English Church.”⁷⁹ If a penitent confessed to having taken from polluted water, oil or wine, he probably admitted this in response to a confessor’s interrogation (see below).

Section 5 of chapter 19 and the last one of Blastares’ synopsis is (Rhallis-Potlis IV 445¹²⁻¹⁷): “He who vomited (ὁ ἐμέσας) after the divine participation stays away from Communion for 40 days on each day singing Psalm 50 and making 50 metanies, in whatever way (the vomiting) happened. Because even if he himself believes he did not now give any cause (for this measure) nevertheless this (measure) is justified (παρεχωρήθη) because of some other sins.” In Harmenopoulos, section 5 is *sectio* 5, *titulus* 3, the last scholium on Gregory of Nyssa’s “canon 16” (PG 150, 149^{7b-11}). The rule reminds us of the second section of chapter 15, in which the author, an interpolator, states that, although the parents deserve forgiveness when their infant is suffocated through a machination of the devil, they nevertheless should be epitemized “because of other sins” (see above section 2.12).

A rule similar to that of section 5 of chapter 19 is found in several Latin penitentials, with the specifications, “Si quis *per ebrietatem* sacrificium vomerit, XL dies peniteat, si *per infirmitatem*, VII dies peniteat.”⁸⁰ The questionnaire of the akolouthy of confession of the MS *Barberini 306* (16th cent.) includes the question, “Did you partake of Holy Communion and then vomit (ἐξέρασας)?”⁸¹ A similar question is found in the questionnaire of the Italian *ordo* of confession (9th or 12th cent.) of the penitential *Paris, B. N., ms. lat. 3380* (12 cent.), which *ordo* probably underwent Greek influence.⁸² The question is, “Accepisti communionem sanctam et non conservasti eam? Si vomitum ex eo fecisti propter ebrietatem, XL diebus poeniteat. Si propter infirmitatem I die poeniteat.”⁸³

3. Conclusion and summarizing reconstruction of the *Kanonikon* by John the Faster

John the Faster, an eleventh-century monk of the Constantinopolitan monastery of Petra, whom Patriarch Kallistos I and Matthew Blastares consider as holy, and who was a close associate of Patriarch Nicholas III

⁷⁹ F.L. Cross – E.A. Livingstone (eds), *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church* (2005, 3rd ed., revised) s. v. “Theodore of Tarsus, St.”

⁸⁰ H.J. Schmitz, *Die Bußbücher und die Bußdisciplin der Kirche* (Mainz 1883, rp. Graz 1958) 411, canon 47; cf. 496, canon 7 (the canon gives *voracitas* for *ebrietas*), 595, canon 6; 598, canon 12; 643, canon 22-23.

⁸¹ Morin 120³⁴. For the akolouthy of *Barberini 306* see M. Arranz, “Les formulaires de confession dans la tradition byzantine,” *OCP* 59 (1993) 380-383.

⁸² See van de Paverd, *Quotiescumque* 153 for the probable Greek influence on this order.

⁸³ Morin 755¹⁸⁻²¹.

Grammatikos and a favourite of Irene, the consort of Alexios I Komnenos, wrote a *kanonikon* for confessors. The original is lost, but Blastares' synopsis probably contains the whole writing, with certainly one and, possibly, two exceptions: a copyist omitted the Faster's penance for unintentional murder and perhaps the same happened to his penance for killing in a war or an expedition against robbers.

Chapters 7 and 9 suggest that Blastares is the author of the texts giving the legislation preceding that of the Faster, but Blastares even copied these texts from his model, only inserting the words "But we', John the Faster says" or "But we', the Faster says" in order to contrast the Faster's position to those of former legislators.

The *Kanonikon* includes parallels with three texts of KAN, which are written by the Canonist. This does not show that the Faster was familiar with KAN. In one case canon 8 of the Council of Neocaesarea is the cause that the Canonist and the Faster wrote similar texts (section 2.9). As regards the two others cases, their comparability could also be due to the use of a common source, decisions by a Constantinopolitan synod (section 2.6).

John, Monk and Deacon, the initiator of KAN, and John the Faster have this in common: their most severe excommunication is a period of three years, with the exception of the Faster's penance for apostasy — not discussed by John, Monk and Deacon — and, imposing additional forms of penance, they compensate for the considerable diminutions of the official penitential excommunications. We may speak of an 11th-century revival of a sixth/seventh-century practice.

Following Gregory of Nyssa's scheme, it might be Blastares who divides the *Kanonikon* into four main parts by assigning the discussed sins either to the *logikon* or the *epithumetikon* or the *thymikon* and by eventually considering the sins that, according to Gregory of Nyssa, derive from *pleonexia*.

Certainly more than one interpolator could not resist the temptation to insert rules or comments into Blastares' synopsis or to add other sections to the Faster's last rule, on perjury. Removing these interpolations we can attempt to reconstruct the Faster's *Kanonikon*. I do this in a summarizing way, especially omitting the penitential works the Faster prescribes in addition to his years of excommunication.

Apostasy: The Faster's penance is Basil's lifelong penance for voluntary apostasy and Gregory of Nyssa's penance of nine years for involuntarily renouncing the faith.

Magic and similar superstitions: For those confessing practising magic and *pharmakeia* Basil prescribes 20 years as he does for resorting to fortune-tellers. Gregory of Nyssa imposes a lifelong penance on those who, really believing in them and scorning the Christian faith, resort to superstitious practices. On those who yield to the pressure of threatening circum-

stances he imposes nine years of excommunication. Ancyra: a penance not exceeding 15 years. "Read also canon 36 of the synod in Laodicea." The Faster: three years.

Masturbation: The Faster: 40 days for simple masturbation, 80 days for "mingling with each other." Additional legislation on masturbation before and after a man's ordination.

Fornication: Gregory of Nyssa: nine years. References to Basil's canons 59, 21, 60, 49 and 32. The Faster: two years.

Adultery: Gregory of Nyssa: 18 years; Basil: 15 years. Ancyra: seven years. The Faster: three years; based on canon 8 of Neocaesarea additional legislation on the case that a priest's wife commits adultery.

Incest: Incest with one's own sister: Basil prescribes 15 years, "but we": three years. Incest with one's daughter-in-law: Basil prescribes 11 years, "but we" two years.

Arrenomania: Gregory of Nyssa: 18 years; Basil: 15 years. The Faster prescribes three years and gives additional legislation on the question whether an abused child can be ordained.

Murder: Premeditated murder: the "old law" orders capital punishment. Basil imposes 20 years, "but we": three years. Involuntary murder: Basil prescribes 10 years. The mention of Basil's penance was presumably followed by that of canon 23 of Ancyra, which reduces a former rule prescribing seven years for unintentional killing to five years. Because of a scribal error, the Faster's penance must be conjectured. It may be assumed to be two years. Killing in a war or a posse against robbers: Basil prescribes three years; in the latter case, for clerics removal from office. A penance of the Faster is missing; possibly, through a copyist's omission.

Abortion: Basil considers abortion as intentional murder. The Faster prescribes three years. For spontaneous abortion he imposes one year, unless we are dealing with an interpolation.

Theft: For a thief who confesses, Basil prescribes one year, but for the thief who is convicted two years. The Faster's penances are 40 days in the first and six months in the second case. He also gives additional legislation on cases where a candidate for the priesthood "steals important goods" or a priest does the same.

Desecration of tombs: Basil: 10 years; the Faster: one year.

Desecration of churches: Gregory of Nyssa: a milder penance than that for adultery (18 years). The Faster: three years.

Perjury: Basil: 10 years; the Faster: one year.

This summary shows that even the full text of the Faster's *Kanonikon* is very short. Therefore it is not surprising that it does not survive as an independent writing.

that which is good “the canonical book” (b). This suggests that he refers to an official penitential book. If such a penitential book existed, it was probably based especially on Basil’s penitential canons (see below text 08).

What kind of people is οἱ ἀσθενέστεροι? Nicholas opposes οἱ ἐν γνώσει τοῦ καλοῦ ὄντες to “the weaker ones.” However, “weakness” is not the opposite of “knowledge,” but of “force” (δύναμις). According to the second author of KAN, the Confessor, prior to imposing a penance, a confessor should consider a penitent’s force (δύναμις) and lack of it (ἀδυναμίαν) (KAN 72,15, p. 116) and it is presumably also the Confessor who writes that confessors ought to impose an epitimy “in accordance with his (the penitent’s) force (δύναμις)” (KAN 94,9, p. 141). Nicholas III Grammatikos and Nikephoros Chartophylax say the same (see below text 08, d and 09, a). The Confessor also declares, “And again it is possible that someone who has sinned much and is indolent or weak (ἀσθενής) or irresolute is epitimized much less in every respect and more compassionately than someone who has sinned little and is prepared and (God) fearing” (KAN 112, 21-23, p. 172).⁸⁷ Do the Athonite monks mean penitents who are weaker in the sense that they refuse to accept the traditional penances and does Nicholas misinterpret the monks’ question? There is a more plausible explanation.

Epictetus (ca. 50-ca. 130), *Discourses* 1, 8, 8 shows that the term ἀσθενής can also mean moral weakness. He uses the term in this sense in the phrase, “every faculty acquired by uninstructed and weak persons (ἀπαιδευτοῖς καὶ ἀσθενέσι) brings with it the danger of the persons being elated and inflated by it.”⁸⁸ In Rom 5: 6 οἱ ἀσθενεῖς are οἱ ἁμαρτωλοί of Rom 5: 8. In 1 Cor 8: 7-12 οἱ ἀσθενεῖς are those who are weak in faith and a weak Christian is opposed to “a man of knowledge” (ὁ ἔχων γνῶσιν) (verse 10) (cf. 1 Cor 9: 22; 1 Thess 5: 14). Gregory of Nyssa, canon 4, speaks of οἱ ἀσθενέστεροι (Joannou II 213¹³) meaning people who are more “feeble-minded” through lack of power of understanding. If we take it that Nicholas III correctly interprets their question, the monks refer to people who are weaker in terms of knowledge or education.⁸⁹ In other texts, these people are indicated by the term οἱ ἄγριοι, the less educated, boorish people, the illiterate.⁹⁰ The Confessor

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opposes “rusticity” to knowledge writing that confessors should take these circumstances into account: “old age and youth, rusticity (ἀγροικία) and knowledge, slavery and freedom” (KAN 44, 7-8, p. 70).⁹¹ The Confessor also criticizes fellow-confessors for not considering mitigating circumstances such as rusticity (χωρικεία) (KAN 114, 2 ff., p. 173). It seems that these people were supposed to be also weak in resisting temptations. John, Monk and Deacon, reports: “But to those who had sinned with an animal or men ... were prescribed by me two years” (instead of three years) “and especially if they were ignorant, in other words, illiterate” (KAN 72, 2-5, p. 114).

Thus, if it is assumed that in their question the monks mean the more primitive people, it becomes understandable that Nicholas speaks of persons who know that which is good, i.e., educated people, educated, of course, also in Christian doctrine and morals. The patriarch wishes these people to feel the full weight of the law when they sin. Holl comments on Nicholas’ answer: “Nikolaos gibt keine runde Antwort; er will die Kanones des Nesteutes nicht rundweg ablehnen, aber der gereiften Christen gegenüber möchte er doch die alten Satzungen aufrecht erhalten wissen” (Holl 292).

J.B. Pitra published a decree of Nicholas III Grammatikos in which the patriarch also mentions “the book by the Faster.” The text is (canon 24, Pitra 474):

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- a) Οὐκ ὀλίγοι οἱ τοὺς κανόνας ἐκθέμενοι, ἀλλὰ πολλοί, καὶ μετ’ αὐτοὺς ὁ μέγας φωστήρ τῆς οἰκουμένης Βασίλειος, καὶ μετ’ αὐτῶν οἱ πατέρες καὶ ἄλλοι πολλοὶ τῶν ἁγίων καὶ μακαρίων ἀνδρῶν.
- b) Καὶ λοιπὸν πολλοὶ τῶν ἀγροικότερων πάντας δυνατοὺς ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Νηστευτοῦ βιβλίου κανονίζουσιν,
- c) ἀλλ’ οὖν πολλοὺς τῆς ἐκκλησίας βίβλος αὐτὴ ἀνέτρεψεν, καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἁμαρτάνειν ἀναισχύντως τοὺς ἀνθρώπους πεποίηκε διὰ τὸν ἄλογον συγκατάβασιν.
- d) Διὸ ὀφείλει ὁ ἀναδεχόμενός τινα ὁρᾶν τὴν τούτου δύναμιν καὶ οὕτως τὰ φάρμακα <<ἐπιτιθέναι (Pitra’s conjecture for ἐπιτίθῃσι),
- e) εἴτε ἐκ τῶν αὐστηροτέρων εἴτε ἐκ τῶν ἀπλουστέρων.
- f) Πλὴν οἱ ἐν γνώσει τοῦ καλοῦ ὄντες καὶ σφαλλόμενοι διὰ τῆς κανονικῆς βίβλου ἐπανορθωθήσονται.

They who set forth the canons are not few, but many, and after them the great luminary of the *oikoumene* Basil (did so) and by means of them the fathers and many others of the holy and blessed men (a). Nevertheless, many of the less edu-

⁹¹ The author of the *Life of Theodore of Sykeon* speaks about his ἀγροικότης and youth because he is 18 years of age and his share of literary instruction (παίδευσις) is small. A.-J. Festugière, *Vie de Théodore de Sykéôn* I, o. c. (below note 96) 152¹⁸-153²².

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cated (confessors) impose penances on all who are strong following the Faster's booklet (b). However, this book ruined many (members) of the Church and led people to sin shamelessly because of its unreasonable consideration (c). Therefore he who receives (the confession of) someone ought to consider his force and accordingly apply the medicines, either the more severe or the more simple ones (e). However, those who know that which is good should be corrected by means of the canonical book (see text 07, b).

Colon (a): John, Monk and Deacon, affirms this. Through His apostles Christ already gave rules for imposing penitential excommunications. After many years, among the seven lights (φωστῆρσι) of His Church, He raised the great Basil, "who halved the canons of the holy apostles" (KAN 36, 15-38, 3, p. 62-63). Perhaps for Nicholas "the many who set forth the canons" were the apostles.

Colon (b): John, Monk and Deacon, also complains about the ἀγροικία of certain confessors. He says of them that through "inexperience and rusticity" they did much harm (KAN 40, 15 [p. 65]). The author of the — originally Greek — confessor's guide *Propter corundum* opens his treatise with the words, "Propter corundum (i.e., confessors) vero rusticitate praeconsuetae."⁹²

Colon (c): For the actual practice, Nicholas says the same in his decree as he does in his answer to the Athonite monks. However, in colon c of his decree the patriarch gives a rather negative judgment on the *Kanonikon*.

It is interesting to adjoin what Pitra writes in a note at text 08: "In cod. Coislin. 363" (12th cent.)⁹³ "f. 67, alium prorsus canonem legebam, quo potius commendatur Nesteutæ ejusque canonarii auctoritas: Τὸ τοῦ Νηστευτοῦ κανονικὸν ἐδέχθη καὶ οὐκ ἀποθεῖται (cod. ἀπώσθει?), καὶ σχεδὸν εἰπεῖν, πάντες μετ' αὐτοῦ κανονίζουσι" (The Faster's *Kanonikon* is accepted, and not rejected. And we can almost say that all impose penances by means of it) (Pitra 474, note 4). Using the term "canonarium" Pitra suggests that the canon refers to KAN, but the text speaks of the "kanonikon" (see also below section 4.3).

4.2 Nikephoros Chartphylax (fl. ca. 1090), Epistula 2, 2

Nikephoros writes this in his second letter, to the monk Theodosios:⁹⁴

⁹² van de Pavard, *Quotiescumque* 117-119.

⁹³ For the date of *Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Coislin 363* see H. Omont, *Inventaire sommaire de manuscrits grecs de la bibliothèque nationale III* (Paris 1888, online) 189.

⁹⁴ P. Gautier (ed. and trans.), "Le chartophylax Nicéphore. Œuvre canonique et notice biographique," *REB* 27 (1969) 159-195, see 176-178^{28a}. Cf. Holl 293-294, who quotes PG 100, 1065BC.

[09]

- a) Περί δὲ τῶν ἐκτεθέντων παρὰ τοῦ Νηστευτοῦ Ἰωάννου συνήθειαν παρελάβομεν ὥστε κατὰ δύναμιν ἐκάστου καὶ τὰς ἐπιτιμήσεις οἰκονομεῖν.
- b) Πλὴν τοῦτο λέγομεν ὅτι τὰ δοκοῦντὰ μὴ κατὰ τὴν ἀκρίβειαν τῶν κανόνων ῥηθῆναι τῷ Νηστευτῇ Ἰωάννῃ, εἴ τις νουνεχῆς σκοποῖ, τῆς τῶν πατέρων διανοίας ἐξήρτηται.
- c) Τοῦ γὰρ μεγάλου Βασιλείου ἐν τῷ τελευταίῳ κανόνι αὐτοῦ συνοπτικῶς παραγγέλλοντος παντὶ ψυχῶν οἰκονομίαν πεπιστευμένῳ ἐξουσίαν δεδόσθαι ἐπιτείνειν καὶ ἐλαττοῦν τὰ ἐπιτίμια κατὰ τὰς διαθέσεις δηλαδὴ τῶν ἐξομολογουμένων, καὶ ὅλως στοχάζεσθαι τῶν προσώπων καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ ἐν διακρίσει τὴν τῶν ψυχῶν ποιεῖσθαι ὠφέλειαν,
- d) οὐδὲν ξένον εἰ καὶ ὁ Νηστευτὴς Ἰωάννης τῷ τοιούτῳ κανόνι πειθόμενος, κατὰ τὸ δοθὲν αὐτῷ πνευματικὸν χάρισμα κεκαινοτόμηκέ τι, ἐπ' ὠφελείᾳ πάντως τὸ οἰκονομούμενον οἰκονομῶν.

About the things set out by John the Faster: we have received a custom of administering the punishments in accordance with everyone's force (a). But we say this because the matters John the Faster says, while they seem to be in discord with the letter of the canons, depend on the fathers' view (b). Because, since in his last canon the great Basil synoptically⁹⁵ declares that every shepherd of souls has the power of extending and diminishing the epitimies, in accordance, that is, with the confessants' dispositions, and of meticulously considering the (individual) persons and (tangible) circumstances, and of judiciously doing what is beneficial to the souls (c), it is not at all surprising that, obeying such a canon and in accordance with the spiritual gift given to him, John the Faster introduced something new that is certainly beneficial, regulating that which he regulates.

In text 07, b Nikephoros III mentions custom and uses the adversative πλὴν. Similarly, Nikephoros mentions custom (a) and introduces colon b using πλὴν. Therefore Nikephoros seems to be influenced by Nicholas' text 07. However, the contents of their texts introduced by πλὴν are different. Nicholas declares what *should* be done, viz., the more simple people should receive the Faster's mild penances, those who are instructed are to be disciplined by the stated times of excommunication. Nikephoros justifies the status quo.

Colon (c): Basil's last canon is canon 84, Joannou II 157¹⁰⁻¹⁴.

4.3 Theodore Balsamon († after 1195)

In his work *Commentary* (Ἐξήγησις) on the *Nomokanon of 14 Titles* Balsamon quotes and explains not only canons of this work but also those of

⁹⁵ That is, in all cases that a penance should be imposed.

the collection of canons, as well as other legal texts, among which is Nicholas III Grammatikos' *erotapokrisis* 11, on the use of the Faster's *Kanonikon* (Rhallis-Potlis IV 425²⁴⁻²⁹). However, Balsamon's version differs from that of text 07, as this comparison shows:

[10]

1. Nicholaos III

Question

- a) Περὶ τοῦ Κανόνος τοῦ Νηστευτοῦ,
- b) εἰ χρὴ μετ' αὐτοῦ κανονίζειν τοὺς ἀσθενεστέρους ἢ πάντας;

Answer

- c)
- d) Ἐπεκράτησε νῦν ἡ συνήθεια διὰ τῆς βίβλου ταύτης κανονίζεσθαι τοὺς πολλούς,
- e) πλὴν οἱ ἐν γνώσει τοῦ καλοῦ ὄντες καὶ σφαλλόμενοι
- f) διὰ τῆς κανονικῆς
- g) ἐπανορθωθήσονται βίβλου.

2. Balsamon

Εἰ χρὴ κατὰ τὸ Κανονικὸν τοῦ Νηστευτοῦ κανονίζειν τινάς;

Τὸ τοιοῦτον Κανονικὸν πολλῇ συγκατάβασει χρησάμενον πολλοὺς ἀπώλεσε·

διὸ οἱ ἐν γνώσει τοῦ καλοῦ ὄντες καὶ ἐκ τούτου σφαλλόμενοι

ἐπανορθωθήσονται.

Colon 2 b: Balsamon himself might have simplified the question considering it of little importance. Harmenopoulos omits the question (see below).

Colon 2 c: "Using much consideration the *Kanonikon* of such a kind has ruined many." Holl observes: "Das freundliche Urteil über das Werk des Nesteutes muss indes" — i.e., in the interval between Nicolas III Grammatikos and Balsamon — "bei einem Teil der massgebenden Männer der Kirche am Ende des 12. Jahrhunderts umgeschlagen haben und man hat es mit Erfolg gewagt den ... Bescheid des Nikolaos zu verfälschen. Schon Balsamon kommentiert eine offenkündig tendenziös entstellte Form der Antwort des Patriarchen" (Holl 293). However, in Nicholas III's answer an interpolator inserted the negative judgment on the *Kanonikon* that the patriarch expresses in his decree writing that the *Kanonikon* "ruined many and led people to sin shamelessly because of its unreasonable consideration" (text 08, c). The interpolator changed the words of the patriarch's answer, but he does not distort the patriarch's view. Nicholas himself belongs to "the authoritative men" who do not unconditionally approve the *Kanonikon*.

Colon (d): It is unclear whether a copyist or Balsamon omitted colon d.

Since its contents are implied by colon 2 e, strictly speaking, colon 1 d is superfluous.

Colon 2 e: "Therefore those who know that which is good and deviate from it should be corrected." The inferential conjunction διό justifies the affirmation of colon 2 c.

Sections f-g: It is obvious that sinners should be corrected. Therefore without the specification the word ἐπανορθωθήσονται in 2 g does not make sense. Hence, a copyist probably forgot to transcribe Balsamon's reproduction of Nicholas' words "by means of the canonical book." In his ἐρμηνεία Balsamon not only comments upon Nicholas III's *erotapokrisis* 11 but also on *erotapokrisis* 10, in the answer of which the patriarch cites the *Life of Theodore of Sykeon* (written shortly after his death in 613) as evidence that those who are excluded from "the holy (Eucharistic) gift" are also excluded from eating "the elevated offerings."⁹⁶ Having said that Nicholas' "two answers are wise" (Rhallis-Potlis IV 426¹), Balsamon first explains the patriarch's answer to question 11 and then comments on that to question 10. It is only Balsamon's explanation of Nicholas' answer on the question on the use of the *Kanonikon* that is relevant for the present study. Balsamon writes (o. c. 426²⁻⁴):

[11]

- a) Βλέπομεν δὲ ὅτι οἱ πλείους τῶν δεχομένων μοναχῶν λογισμοὺς ἀνθρώπων μετὰ τοῦ τοιούτου κανονικοῦ κανονίζουσι.
- b) Ζήτει οὖν κατὰ τὴν παροῦσαν (ἡμέραν) σωτήριον γενέσθαι ἀπόκρισιν.

But we see that the majority of the monks receiving people's confession impose penances by means of the *Kanonikon* of such a kind (a). He (Nicholas III) seeks therefore to give an answer that brings salvation for the present time.

Colon (a): The adversative δέ implies that the majority of monks who act as confessors use the FASTER's *Kanonikon* despite the fact that it ruined many (cf. text 10, 2 c).

Colon (b): The words κατὰ τὴν παροῦσαν are opposed to the past tense of the phrase πολλοὺς ἀπώλεσε (text 10, 2 c) and the term σωτήριος ἀπόκρισις to the expression "(the *Kanonikon*) ruined many." Balsamon's explanation proves the correctness of Holl's assumption that text 10, 2 c was already there in Nicholas III's text when Balsamon copied it. Having stressed that it was not Balsamon who committed "den Betrug," Holl continues writ-

⁹⁶ A.-J. Festugière, *Vie de Théodore de Sykéôn* I (text) and II (trans.) (Subsidia hagiografica 48) Bruxelles 1970, which has only one lacuna, in the penultimate chapter, on Theodore's funeral (o. c. I 160), does not include any text to which Balsamon could refer.

ing: “aber er gehört doch zu denen, die das darin ausgesprochene Urteil — allerdings im Widerspruch gegen die Majorität — billigen” (Holl 293). Since Balsamon does not simply speak of οἱ πλείους, but of the majority of the *monks*, Holl’s affirmation is true if it is assumed that in Balsamon’s time the majority of the confessors were monks. (A chapter on the minister of confession in the Byzantine Church from the sixth to the 15th century is part of the study on the penitential degrees mentioned above in my preface).

Herman believes KAN to be the penitential book against which resistance arose at the end of the 11th century.⁹⁷ This hypothesis can be dismissed. First, we may take it that the monks who submitted the question regarding the use of the Faster’s *Kanonikon* to Nicholas III, if they were familiar with KAN, were acquainted with its *textus receptus*, which contains all kinds of penances, even Basil’s ones.⁹⁸ Second, if the monks were familiar with KAN, they were most probably acquainted with it by the name of the author John, Monk and Deacon, although KAN is already attributed to the patriarch John the Faster in a Georgian MS, written in 1031, which includes the translation of KAN into Georgian by Euthymius the Iberian (955/960-1028).⁹⁹ By the end of the 11th century, for confessors KAN is superseded by the Faster’s *Kanonikon*.

4.4 Constantine Harmenopoulos (fl. 14th century)

In his *Epitome canonum* Harmenopoulos only gives Nicholas III Grammatikos’ answer to the Athonite monks’ question to the patriarch. The answer is provided with the title, “The (canon) of the Patriarch Nicholas.” Harmenopoulos’ version of the canon is the same as that of Balsamon (text 10, 2), with one exception. For Balsamon’s conjunction διό Harmenopoulos gives καί (cf. text 10, 2 e) (*sectio* 5, *titulus* 3, PG 150, 156D¹⁰⁻¹³). Perhaps the title of the answer and the exception show that Harmenopoulos did not copy Balsamon’s text, but a different source.

4.5 Summary of chapter 3

First, it is interesting to see what the sources say about the actual use of *The Kanonikon by John the Faster* and, next, to summarize the views expressed concerning it.

M.J. Gedeon’s text of Nicholas III Grammatikos’ *erotapokrisis* regard-

⁹⁷ E. Herman, “Il più antico penitenziale greco,” *OCP* 19 (1953) 144.

⁹⁸ van de Pavard, *Kanonarion* 94-104.

⁹⁹ Herman, o. c. 80, cf. 77. 79. 80. 84. 120 and M. Arranz, *I penitenziali bizantini* (Rome 1993) 8. 12. See also above note 11.

En effet, les récits touchant ces trois expéditions nous fournissent des renseignements sur le sort des montagnards libanais pendant les décennies qui suivirent le départ des Croisés et sur leurs difficultés d'adaptation à la nouvelle domination. En ce qui concerne les Maronites, leur implication a été amplement mise en question par plusieurs historiens modernes⁴. Toutefois, la proximité des régions du Liban mentionnées comme théâtre des opérations militaires de celles habitées par les Maronites, ainsi que le moment historique de transition d'une domination à l'autre, moment qui dut être difficile pour les Maronites autant, sinon plus, que pour les autres habitants du Liban, nous invitent à examiner avec une attention spéciale les circonstances des trois expéditions et leurs possibles retombées sur le sort des Chrétiens libanais.

1. *Les trois expéditions contre la Montagne libanaise et leur temps*

Après la conquête de Tripoli, celle de Saint-Jean-d'Acre fut retardée par la mort de Qalāwūn, mais accomplie avec énergie et décision en 1291 par son fils et successeur al-Malik al-Ašraf Ḥalīl (1290-1293); l'île de Chypre restait, cependant, dans les mains des Croisés et ils y avaient établi un royaume considéré comme l'héritier de celui de Jérusalem, alors que le royaume d'Arménie gardait encore d'importants territoires stratégiques en Asie Mineure.

L'aventure des Croisades n'était, par conséquent, pas terminée aux yeux des Mamelouks qui continuaient à voir dans les deux royaumes une menace pour leur très vaste empire⁵ incluant, outre l'Égypte, la Palestine, le Liban et la Syrie d'aujourd'hui; cet empire avait aussi absorbé, avec les territoires enlevés aux Croisés, les seigneuries musulmanes de la région, dont les sujets voyaient eux aussi les Mamelouks comme les nouveaux maîtres⁶.

C'est dans ce contexte qu'il faut comprendre la décision de détruire les ports les plus importants de la côte libano-syrienne⁷, ainsi que la conduite d'expéditions militaires contre certaines régions de la Montagne libanaise, objet de cette étude.

Une première expédition punitive contre la Montagne avait été, d'ailleurs, programmée dès 1286 par Qalāwūn, qui n'avait pas pu cependant la réaliser. Ce projet est mentionné par Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā (m. 1436)⁸, un des membres de la famille des émirs du Ġarb, seigneurs de Beyrouth sous les

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⁵ Richard (1953), p. 341-343.

⁶ Brockelmann (1949), p. 201; Scarcia Amoretti (2005), p. 99-100.

⁷ Cf. Fuess (2009), p. 157-160; 165-166; 169-170.

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Mamelouks, dans l'histoire qu'il composa en utilisant les archives de sa famille, où figurait une lettre envoyée par le gouverneur de la Syrie aux émirs du Ġarb, leur donnant les instructions nécessaires en vue de leur participation à une expédition contre « le Kisrawān et les deux Ġurd ». « Celui qui aura pris une femme d'eux (des habitants des dites régions), la gardera comme esclave, et celui qui aura pris un garçon, le gardera comme *mamlūk*, et, à celui qui aura présenté la tête de l'un d'eux, on donnera un *dīnār* ». Le but poursuivi était de « détruire leurs racines, piller leurs biens et réduire en captivité eux-mêmes et leurs enfants »⁹.

Ensuite, en 1292, après la conquête de Saint-Jean-d'Acre et des autres villes chrétiennes de la côte méridionale du Liban, le sultan al-Ašraf Ḥalīl, à son retour d'une campagne victorieuse contre les Arméniens, « renvoya une partie de l'armée dans la montagne du Kisrawān et du Ġurd, à la suite de l'aide que les habitants de cette région avaient autrefois donnée aux Francs contre les Musulmans »¹⁰. L'opération, cependant, échoua, suivant le témoignage unanime des historiens arabes qui nous en parlent¹¹.

Le règne d'al-Ašraf Ḥalīl devait, d'ailleurs, parvenir à sa conclusion le 14 décembre 1293, suivant un procédé qui n'était pas rare sous les Mamelouks. Leur empire fut l'une des institutions les plus singulières de l'histoire humaine, géré qu'il était par des esclaves qui renouvelaient leurs rangs en achetant de nouveaux esclaves, éduqués de façon à servir dans l'armée, voire à occuper les plus hautes charges de l'État (1250)¹².

Il est clair que dans un tel milieu, les intrigues se multipliaient et les fonctionnaires allaient et venaient suivant qu'ils gagnaient ou perdaient la faveur du sultan. Celui-ci était lui-même soumis aux jeux des intérêts et des forces de son entourage, au milieu duquel il devait réussir à garder et son pouvoir et sa vie.

Le sultan al-Ašraf Ḥalīl n'y réussit pas et périt assassiné par de hauts fonctionnaires, Mamelouks eux aussi, qui placèrent sur le trône son frère encore enfant, al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, bientôt déposé. Après quoi, deux sultans qui n'appartenaient pas à la famille de Qalāwūn, mais faisaient partie de l'élite des Mamelouks, se succédèrent rapidement (1294-1298); cependant, après l'assassinat du deuxième, le jeune prince al-Nāṣir

⁹ Ṣāliḥ (1969), p. 53; voir aussi Laoust (1940), p. 100 et n. 2.

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¹¹ *Ibidem* et Makrizi (1845), troisième partie, p. 142; Moufazzal (1919-1929), PO 69 (14.3), p. 554-555; Ṣāliḥ (1969), p. 24-26.

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Muḥammad fut rappelé sur le trône, tandis qu'en fait, l'empire était géré encore une fois par les plus puissants parmi les Mamelouks (1298-1308)¹³.

Entre-temps, le choc provoqué dans le monde chrétien par la perte des dernières villes croisées, ainsi que les craintes engendrées par la politique d'agression des Mamelouks contre les Arméniens, avaient causé une certaine réaction en Europe, même si, en fin de compte, elle n'avait abouti à aucun résultat concret. Toutefois, en Orient le mouvement défensif eut des effets tangibles : les Arméniens s'adressèrent aux Mongols, avec lesquels ils avaient des relations d'alliance et de vasselage, et le Khan Ġāzān, quoique converti à l'Islam, accepta d'intervenir. On entama des négociations avec le royaume de Chypre aussi, mais les discordes internes empêchèrent une prompte adhésion au projet de ce côté-là. Les Mongols, les Arméniens et les Géorgiens constituèrent néanmoins une coalition et déferlèrent sur la Syrie, la mettant à feu et à sang. L'armée mamelouke fut battue près de Homs le 24 décembre 1299 et les Mongols, avec leurs alliés, entrèrent à Damas qu'ils occupèrent, mais le Khan Ġāzān rentra bientôt dans son pays et les troupes qu'il avait laissées en Syrie abandonnèrent Damas au printemps 1300 ; un général Mongol resta, cependant, en Syrie, tandis que Ġāzān préparait une nouvelle expédition¹⁴.

L'adhésion tardive des Chypriotes se manifesta dans la phase préparatoire de la campagne, en mai 1299, par l'envoi de trente galères qui essayèrent d'attaquer le port de Beyrouth, mais furent repoussées¹⁵. Plus tard, après que les Mongols eurent abandonné Damas, avec l'espoir pourtant de revenir bientôt en Syrie, une flotte chypriote débarqua sur la côte libanaise durant l'été 1300, sans pouvoir toutefois s'y maintenir. Une autre flotte accomplit une action démonstrative sur la côte égyptienne, devant Alexandrie et sur la côte libano-syrienne jusqu'à Tortose, puis rentra à Chypre. Enfin, après l'arrivée d'un messenger du Khan mongol annonçant une nouvelle expédition militaire pour l'hiver suivant, un détachement chypriote occupa l'île de Ruad, devant Tortose, mais à cause d'une maladie du Khan et d'autres problèmes, l'armée mongole qui arriva dans la Syrie du nord en février 1301 était très réduite et sa présence resta inefficace. En 1303, Ġāzān envahit, une nouvelle fois, la Syrie jusqu'à Damas, mais fut vaincu auprès de cette ville et repassa l'Euphrate, pour mourir l'année suivante. L'île de Ruad, dont la défense avait été confiée aux Templiers, fut assaillie

¹³ Cf. Ziada (1975), p. 487; Irwin (1986), p. 85-104.

¹⁴ Röhricht (1881), p. 644-647; Laoust (1940), p. 101; Richard (1953), p. 341-343; Irwin (1986), p. 99-101.

¹⁵ Makrizi (1845), quatrième partie, p. 128-129; Moufazzal (1919-1929), PO 69 (14.3), p. 628-629; voir aussi Röhricht (1881), p. 644.

par l'armée mamelouke et reconquise, et ses défenseurs emmenés en captivité ou massacrés¹⁶.

Entre-temps, une deuxième opération punitive contre « les montagnes du Ġurd et du Kisrawān » avait eu lieu en juillet 1300, peu après la libération de Damas. Les habitants des deux régions se soumirent et « durent restituer les équipement militaires qu'ils avaient volés et payer une lourde contribution qui fut versée au trésor de l'État ; leur terres et leurs vergers furent donnés en fief »¹⁷.

Les comptes avec les gens de la montagne libanaise n'étaient cependant pas encore définitivement réglés, mais ce fut fait lors d'une troisième intervention militaire qui eut lieu une année après la mort du Khan Ġāzān (1304). La répression, cette fois-ci, fut terrible :

Leur vignes furent détruites, leurs maisons dévastées, un grand nombre de leurs gens tués, et ils furent dispersés dans les différentes régions. Asandamur (le gouverneur de Tripoli) réduisit en servitude une multitude d'eux à Tripoli..., et leur puissance disparut et leur souvenir fut obscurci¹⁸.

2. *La question de l'implication des Maronites*

Pour ce qui concerne l'implication des Maronites dans les trois expéditions punitives, il faut remarquer que, dans les sources contemporaines aux événements, on ne trouve jamais le nom des Maronites, mais on mentionne plutôt, d'une façon générale, les habitants de la montagne libanaise.

Parmi les historiens modernes, Lammens a exprimé l'opinion que les habitants du Kisrawān n'étaient pas à l'époque des Maronites. Les arguments qu'il fait valoir sont l'absence de vestiges archéologiques d'églises antérieurs au XVI^e siècle dans la région, alors qu'il y a des vestiges gréco-romains intéressants¹⁹, et le fait que « patriarches, évêques, moqaddams, cités dans les documents maronites du moyen âge, tous sont originaires de Béšarré, des pays de Batroûn et de Gebail. Quand les Croisés parlent des Maronites, ils nous les montrent toujours fixés dans les montagnes entre Tripoli et Gebail, jamais au sud du fleuve Ibrahim »²⁰. En outre, il remarque que « si les rebelles du Kasrawân étaient des Maronites, on ne voit pas pourquoi ceux des districts de Béšarré, Batroûn et Gebail ne se sont pas

¹⁶ Röhricht (1881), p. 648; Richard (1953), p. 343-345; Irwin (1986), p. 101.

¹⁷ Ibn Kaṭīr (1939), tome XIV, p. 12; trad. française, Laoust (1940), p. 102 ; voir aussi Makrizi (1845), quatrième partie, p. 170-171; Moufazzal (1919-1929), PO 96 (20.1), p. 23; Ṣāliḥ (1969), p. 27; aperçu rapide chez Irwin (1986), p. 101-102.

¹⁸ Ṣāliḥ (1969), p. 28.

¹⁹ Lammens (1902), p. 465.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 467-468.

jointes aux Kasrawânites, surtout après l'échec de la première expédition musulmane ; pourquoi ils les ont finalement laissés écraser, sans essayer la moindre diversion en leur faveur. On ne s'explique pas non plus pourquoi la sanglante répression de 1305 épargne leurs coreligionnaires des régions du nord, berceau et centre principal de la nationalité maronite »²¹.

Les réflexions de Lammens étaient en rapport surtout avec les récits de deux historiens maronites ayant vécu à une époque postérieure aux événements, Ibn al-Qilā'ī († 1516) et Duwayhī († 1704), qui mettent en relation ces expéditions avec l'histoire des Maronites²².

La question a été réexaminée par Laoust qui, dans un article sur la présentation des événements chez Ibn Kaṭīr, tout en confirmant que la cible des expéditions était surtout les membres de certaines sectes musulmanes considérées hérétiques par les dominateurs sunnites, souligne que le but poursuivi était plutôt politique que religieux, puisque

l'existence d'une minorité rebelle et turbulente, dans une position géographique et stratégique aussi importante que le Kasrawân, qui surplombait la riche plaine de la Biqā' et qui pouvait entrer facilement en communication avec la mer, était d'autant plus redoutable que l'on vivait toujours dans la crainte, bien justifiée, d'un retour offensif des flottes franques et que le péril mongol était loin d'être conjuré. La réduction de cet îlot d'insoumission, qui servait d'autre part de base à des incursions de brigandage, était indispensable à la sécurité de l'État mamlûk. Il nous paraît inexact de chercher à présenter ces campagnes comme une manifestation du fanatisme sunnite contre les Ši'îtes, mais beaucoup plus judicieux d'y voir avant tout une importante opération de police²³.

Entre-temps, Būlus Qar'alī avait édité, à la suite du poème d'Ibn al-Qilā'ī *Hurūb al-muqaddamīn*, un récit de la dévastation du Kisrawān attribué à un certain évêque Théodore de Hama²⁴; on pourrait en déduire la présence de Chrétiens dans la région à l'époque, mais la datation absurde sur le plan historique, ainsi que la paternité tout à fait incertaine de cet ouvrage ne nous permettent pas de le considérer comme une source contemporaine des événements²⁵.

Plus tard, Salibi, dans son analyse du poème d'Ibn al-Qilā'ī, tout en reconnaissant que les habitants du Kisrawān étaient, au commencement du XIV^e siècle, surtout Druses et Chiites, admet la possibilité d'une présence chrétienne dont Ibn al-Qilā'ī aurait conservé le souvenir, mais n'entre pas

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 466.

²² Laoust (1940), p. 97, n. 5.

²³ *Ibidem*, p. 111 ; voir aussi p. 106-115.

²⁴ Théodore de Hama (1932), *passim*.

²⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 325-327.

dans les détails des arguments historiques qui pourraient appuyer cette idée²⁶. Le problème de l'implication des Maronites dans les trois expéditions punitives de 1292, 1300 et 1305, reste, par conséquent, ouvert.

3. *L'enchaînement des événements*

Évaluer le sort échu aux Maronites pendant les trois expéditions contre les habitants du Kisrawān est rendu difficile par le fait que nous ignorons quelles étaient exactement les frontières des seigneuries croisées, ainsi que la distribution de la population à l'intérieur de ces seigneuries et les repliements éventuels de la population chrétienne après la conquête mamlouke²⁷. En effet, il serait logique de penser à une expansion de la population chrétienne d'origine locale à l'intérieur des seigneuries croisées, expansion qui aurait bien pu intéresser le Kisrawān, région qui confine avec celle de Ġbayl, où la présence des Maronites était consistante au temps des Croisés²⁸. Les sources ne nous fournissent, cependant, aucun renseignement à cet égard, à l'exception toutefois du colophon d'un Pontifical maronite copié en 1296²⁹ qui atteste la présence d'un évêque maronite à 'Āqūrā, dans le massif montagneux adjacent à ce qu'on appelle « Ġabal Kisrawān »³⁰.

Les sources nous expliquent, en revanche, quelle avait été la cause de ces expéditions punitives répétées. Nous avons déjà rapporté les mots d'Ibn Kaṭīr (m. 1374), auteur presque contemporain des événements, d'après lequel l'attaque de 1292 aurait eu lieu « à la suite de l'aide que les habitants de cette région avaient autrefois donnée aux Francs contre les Musulmans »³¹.

S'il est vrai que des accusations pareilles peuvent être lues dans le cadre de la propagande contre les Chiites, tendant à présenter ces derniers comme « plus infidèles et dangereux que les Juifs et les Chrétiens »³², il est aussi vrai qu'en 1292, c'est-à-dire à une époque où les Croisés venaient juste de quitter le Liban, l'imputation a un poids très concret, renvoyant à un réseau de solidarité très vraisemblable avec ceux qui avaient été, jusqu'à ce moment, les seigneurs de la région. En fait, les gens de la Montagne liba-

²⁶ Salibi (1959), pp. 73-74.

²⁷ Cf. Touma (1971-1972), vol. II, p. 417 : « La question de savoir à quelles époques et pourquoi les limites et les noms modernes des subdivisions territoriales au Liban ont été choisis n'a pas été posée jusqu'à présent. Chroniqueurs et historiens autochtones ne semblent même pas soupçonner que l'identité conventionnelle de ces surfaces géographiques pouvait changer ou évoluer au cours des siècles ».

²⁸ Cf. Cubbe (2006), p. 477-479.

²⁹ Vat. Syr. 309, f. 113r; trad. française, Chahwan (2008), p. 25.

³⁰ Moubarac (1984), vol. II/2, p. 575-576.

³¹ Voir *supra* n. 10. Pour Ibn Kaṭīr, cf. Laoust (1940), p. 94-96.

³² Laoust (1940), p. 112.

naïse repoussèrent les nouveaux maîtres de toutes leurs énergies. Il faut, de l'autre côté, reconnaître que la solidarité envers « les Francs » ne peut renvoyer qu'aux Chrétiens locaux, nommément aux Maronites, solidaires eux aussi, et à majeure raison, des Francs.

Il est d'ailleurs significatif que les habitants du Kisrawān persistent dans leur ligne de conduite hostile envers les conquérants Mamelouks dans une circonstance spécialement difficile pour ces derniers, l'invasion des Tatars en décembre 1299³³, ce qui provoqua la deuxième expédition punitive, en 1300.

Les sources s'accordent sur le fait que, suivant ce qu'écrivit le copte Moufazzal Ibn Abil-Fazaïl (al-Mufaḍḍal ibn abī 'l-Faḍā'il, XIV^e siècle)³⁴, le but de cette deuxième expédition était de « punir » « les habitants de la montagne de Kasrawan » et « les Druzes », « de la manière dont ils s'étaient permis de se conduire à l'égard des armées musulmanes, lors de leur défaite et de leur retour dans l'empire égyptien »³⁵. Comme l'explique Ibn Kaṭīr, « les montagnards du Kisrawān avaient alors attaqué et pillé les soldats, leur avaient enlevé les armes et les chevaux, et en avaient même massacré un certain nombre »³⁶.

Pour ces événements, nous disposons cependant d'une autre version, qu'on peut lire dans la chronique connue sous le nom de *Gestes des Chiprois*, un texte contemporain rédigé dans le royaume croisé de Chypre³⁷. Voilà le récit de ce qui se passa lors de la victoire des Mongols sur l'armée mamlouke près de Homs, le 24 décembre 1299 :

Lorsque le sultan fut vaincu en cette bataille (ce fut le 20 du mois de décembre de l'an 1299 du Christ déjà mentionné), il s'enfuit du côté de Damas, et ce fut là-bas que fut hébergée une partie de son armée, mais il n'osa pas y demeurer, car la peur avait tellement pénétré dans son cœur et dans celui de ses gens, qu'ils croyaient toujours que les Tatars étaient à leurs trousses... On dit que le sultan entra à Babylone³⁸ avec quinze chevaliers seulement, car il avait perdu un grand nombre de ses hommes dans la bataille et ceux qui purent échapper s'enfuirent par différents chemins, les uns d'un côté, les autres de l'autre, ... et certains s'échappèrent vers la mer ; je vais vous dire ce qu'il advint d'eux : ils

³³ Voir *supra* n. 14.

³⁴ Pour Moufazzal et l'époque à laquelle il vécut, voir l'introduction d'E. Blochet, Moufazzal (1919-1929), PO 59 (12.3), p. 345-406.

³⁵ Moufazzal (1919-1929), PO 96 (20.1), p. 23.

³⁶ Ibn Kaṭīr (1939), tome. XIV, p. 12; trad. française, Laoust (1940), p. 102; voir aussi Makrizi (1845), quatrième partie, p. 170-171; Ṣāliḥ (1969), p. 27.

³⁷ Cf. l'introduction de G. Raynaud dans *Gestes* (1887), pp. ix-xii ; xx-xvii.

³⁸ « Babiloine » est le nom symbolique – mais aussi historique : la citadelle du « Vieux-Caire » actuel – qu'on donne, dans cette chronique, au Caire, capitale du sultanat des Mamelouks.

allèrent au Krak, près de Tripoli, et ensuite à Ġbayl, et parmi ces gens, qui étaient quatre mille, il y avait quatre amiraux, dont l'un s'appelait Saindamor, qui fut ensuite bailli et roi des amiraux et quant aux autres, je ne connais pas leurs noms. Et lorsque les paysans du territoire de Tripoli et de Ġbayl, qui sont tous des Chrétiens, virent arriver ces amiraux et leurs gens vaincus, ils se jetèrent sur eux avec une telle fureur que, de quatre mille qu'ils étaient, ne s'échappèrent que les quatre amiraux et, avec eux, à peu près trois ou quatre cent hommes, grâce à leurs chevaux, puisqu'ils avaient de bonnes montures³⁹.

La participation des Chrétiens et donc des Maronites, à la poursuite de l'armée mamelouke vaincue, au vu de la collocation géographique, est évidente ; par conséquent, nous pouvons légitimement nous demander si les Chrétiens libanais n'eurent pas aussi à pâtir de l'expédition punitive qui s'ensuivit peu après. Le silence des sources musulmanes⁴⁰ à leur égard ne doit pas, d'ailleurs, nous surprendre, puisque ces sources, le plus souvent, tendent à ignorer les Chrétiens. L'importance donnée à l'action des Chrétiens des régions de Tripoli et de Ġbayl par les *Gestes des Chiprois*, à propos d'événements dont les auteurs musulmans font mention, mais sans la moindre allusion aux Chrétiens, est, à ce point de vue, significative. Il est vrai que les *Gestes* ne nous rapportent rien sur l'expédition punitive de 1300, mais cela peut très bien s'expliquer par l'intérêt que l'auteur des *Gestes* porte aux vicissitudes du royaume de Chypre. Or, les Chypriotes prirent part, quoique tardivement, aux actions militaires liées à l'occupation de la Syrie par les Mongols, puis se retirèrent sur leur île lors de la retraite de leurs alliés.

Un épisode rapporté ensuite par les *Gestes* semble, de toute façon, digne d'attention :

³⁹ *Gestes* (1887), pp. 300-301. Texte original : « Quant le soudan fu desconfit en seste bataille (se fu à XX jours dou mois de delier dou dit an de M & CC & XCIX de Crist), il se mist à fouyer as parties de Damas, & là se herberga à une partie de son host, mais là n'en oza il demourer, car la paour li estoit si entré au cuer de luy et de sa gent, que il cuyde(e)nt tous jours que les Tatars los fussent à lor espales... On dit que le soudan entra en Babiloine à XV chevauchours soulement, car de sa gent fu perdue en la bataille grant cantité de gens, & siaus quy eschaperent fuyrent pluissors par de(s) chemins, les uns sà, & les autres là, ... et aucuns fuyrent vers la maryne, des quels vos dirai(s) ce que il lor avint : et il alerent au Crac, vissin de Triple, & puis à Giblet, & entre seste gent qui estoyent .IIIJM., avoit .IIIJ. amiraus dont l'un avoit nom Saindamor, quy après fu bailly & roy des amiraus, & l'autre ne vos sais nomer. Et quant les vilains de la terre de Triple & de Giblet, quy sont tous crestiens, virent venir ses amiraus & lor gens desconfis, si lor corurent sus que de tous les .IIIJM. n'en eschaperent que les .IIIJ. amiraus & entor de .IIJC. ou .IIIJ. en lor compaignie, par force de chevaus, pour ce que il furent bien montés. »

⁴⁰ Je compte aussi avec les sources musulmanes (mentionnées *supra*, n. 36) le copte Moufazzal, qui, en tant qu'Égyptien, recevait ses renseignements surtout de milieux mamelouks.

Et après le départ de Ġazan⁴¹, certains Chrétiens de Chypre se rendirent à Ġbayl et à Nefin, et dans les territoires près de cette côte. C'étaient Guy, comte de Jaffa, messire Jean d'Antioche et leurs chevaliers. Ils pensaient passer de là en Arménie, où se trouvait l'armée des Tatars. Ġazan était parti et eux aussi⁴² revinrent en arrière. Par bonheur, le comte trouva à Ġbayl une galère de Gênes, appartenant à un homme qui s'appelait Jacques Davogaire, qui avait pris et occupé Ġbayl pour ses gens et pour lui-même. Lorsque, cependant, Ġazan fut parti, les Sarrasins de la région se rassemblèrent et attaquèrent Ġbayl, dont la galère et les autres petits vaisseaux recueillirent le comte, messire Jean d'Antioche et les autres Chrétiens et, pendant qu'on les recueillait, ils furent assaillis par les Sarrasins qui tuèrent et noyèrent plusieurs des Chrétiens. Le comte Guy de Jaffa et messire Jean d'Antioche, la galère des Génois et les autres Chrétiens rentrèrent à Chypre⁴³.

Ce récit nous fait connaître, presque par hasard, l'intéressante tentative des Génois de reprendre possession de Ġbayl et l'occupation temporaire de cette ville, à la faveur de la victoire des Mongols. La réaction des « Sarrasins de la région » contre les occupants pourrait coïncider avec l'expédition contre le Kisrawān, qui eut lieu en juillet 1300. Quoi qu'il en soit, elle ne dut pas en être très éloignée, puisque le voyage de la députation chypriote pour l'Arménie eut lieu après le départ des Mongols, au printemps 1300 et avant l'automne de cette même année, lorsque, le retour des Mongols ayant été annoncé, les Chypriotes occupèrent Tortose⁴⁴.

D'ailleurs, suivant les *Gestes*, les navires de guerre du royaume de Chypre n'étaient pas restés inactifs dans l'intervalle, mais, après s'être avancés jusqu'à Alexandrie et le long du Nil, ils avaient rejoint le port d'Acre, près duquel ils avaient combattu les Mamelouks, puis l'île de Tortose, d'où ils étaient parvenus à chasser les Mamelouks. Descendus à Maraclée, ancienne forteresse des Croisés, les Chypriotes furent contraints à remonter sur leurs embarcations et à rentrer à Chypre⁴⁵.

⁴¹ « Cazan » dans l'original, ou Ghazan, Khan mongol (1271-1304).

⁴² Dans le texte original, le sujet de cette phrase se déduit du contexte.

⁴³ *Gestes* (1887), p. 302-303. Texte original : « Et après que Cazan fu partis, aucuns crestiens de Chipre estoient alés à Giblet & à Nefin, & en seles terres de seles marines, les quels vous nomeray : Guy conte de Jaffe & messire Johan d'Antioche & lor chevaliers ; et de là cuyderent aller en Ermenie quy estoit à l'ost des Tatars. Cazan s'en estoit retornés : il se mist à revenir, & li avint bien au conte qu'il trouva à Giblet une gualée de Jene d'un quy ot nom Jaque Davogaire, quy avoit pris & saizi Giblet, & pour son comun & pour luy. Mais Cazan se fu retornés ; les Sarazins de seles contrées se rasemblerent & vindrent envers Giblet, dont la guallée & les autres petits vaussiaus recueillirent le conte messire Johan d'Antioche & les autres crestiens, & furent au recullir assailis des Sarazins que pluisors crestiens tuerent & nafrerent, & se revint en Chipre le conte Guy de Jafe & messire Johan d'Antioche, & la gualée des Jenevés & les autres crestiens. »

⁴⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 305.

⁴⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 304-305.

L'expédition contre les gens du Kisrawān, en juillet 1300, se déroule donc à un moment où la flotte croisée est bien présente et il se peut que ce fût la raison pour laquelle on ne sévit pas contre eux comme on le fera ensuite, en 1305, mais il semble qu'on parvint à une sorte d'accord, comportant la soumission et de lourdes pénalités économiques⁴⁶. Il se pourrait aussi que ce fut pour cette raison que l'attaque ne visa pas directement les territoires habités principalement par les Maronites, même si, comme nous venons de lire, il y eut des combats aussi à Ġbayl, d'où les Génois et les Chypriotes furent finalement chassés et où nous pouvons au moins suspecter une implication des Maronites.

Cette implication semble probable, pour ne pas dire sûre, en ce qui concerne l'occupation de l'île de Ruad, en face de Tortose, où les Templiers s'étaient établis à l'occasion des incursions de la flotte croisée auxquelles on vient de faire allusion et où ils se maintenaient en attendant le retour des Mongols. Lorsqu'on vit, cependant, que ce retour ne se vérifia pas, « le sultan persécuteur des Chrétiens fit armer seize entre galères et brigantins et les envoya à Tripoli de Syrie, à un de ses amiraux qui s'appelait Sandamour, et avait été chrétien ». De là, l'armée mamelouke se porta à Tortose et attaqua l'île, qui finit par capituler et alors, « les Sarrasins firent trancher les têtes à tous les sergents syriens, parce qu'ils avaient opposé une indomptable résistance et fait grand dommage aux Sarrasins, et les frères du Temple furent emmenés à Babylone honteusement »⁴⁷.

Il est très vraisemblable que les « sergents syriens » aient été, du moins en grande partie, des Maronites.

De toute façon, il faut reconnaître, sur la base du récit des *Gestes*, que le mouvement de résistance contre les conquérants Mamelouks se vérifia aussi dans les régions chrétiennes du Nord du Liban, incité par les incursions maritimes des Chypriotes et par l'espoir d'une revanche grâce à l'alliance avec les Mongols, tandis que, d'un autre côté, on peut entrevoir une corrélation entre l'attaque de 1300 contre les montagnards du Kisrawān et le relâchement de la menace mongole.

En effet, l'opération militaire qui liquida le Kisrawān en 1305 n'eut lieu qu'après la défaite et la mort du Khan Ġāzān⁴⁸, ainsi qu'après la prise de

⁴⁶ Voir *supra* n. 17.

⁴⁷ *Gestes* (1887), pp. 308-310. Textes originaux : « le soudan persecutour des crestiens si fist armer entre gualées & sayties XVJ, et les manda à Triple de Surie à J sien amirail quy avoit nom Sandamour, avoit esté crestien » ; « les Sarazins firent trancher les testes à tous les sargans suryens, pour ce que il firent grant defense & grant damage as Sarazins, & les freres dou Temple furent menés en Babiloine hontouement ». Voir aussi, Makrizi (1845), quatrième partie, pp. 195-196; Moufazzal (1919-1929), PO 96 (20.1), p. 81-82.

⁴⁸ Voir *supra* n. 16.

l'île de Ruad et le massacre des « sergents syriens », de sorte qu'il est impossible de ne pas supposer une certaine relation entre les trois événements.

D'ailleurs, la première expédition de 1292 contre le Kisrawān, conclue avec l'échec de l'armée mamelouke, avait été voulue par le sultan alors qu'il rentrait d'une campagne victorieuse contre les Arméniens⁴⁹, ce qui place déjà les mesures prises contre les habitants de la montagne libanaise dans le cadre d'opérations plus vastes, visant à assurer au sultanat la domination complète sur toute la région, de l'Égypte jusqu'en Asie Mineure.

À la réalisation d'un pareil dessein s'opposaient, de l'autre côté, autant les Arméniens qui appelèrent à l'aide les Mongols, que les rois de Chypre et les nobles du royaume, parmi lesquels on comptait des seigneurs qui venaient d'être dépossédés de leurs territoires de la côte libanaise et jouissaient encore d'un réseau d'alliances locales, incluant « les paysans du territoire de Tripoli et de Ġbayl, qui sont tous des Chrétiens »⁵⁰, de même que les habitants d'autres régions du Liban, qu'ils fussent Chrétiens ou non, comme le montrent les accusations portées contre les habitants du Kisrawān par les historiens arabes⁵¹. Les Mamelouks durent en premier lieu éloigner l'ennemi le plus dangereux, les Mongols, pour avoir ensuite raison des Templiers installés sur l'île de Ruad et de leurs « sergents syriens » et, pour finir, des habitants du Kisrawān.

4. *La contiguïté géographique*

Nous avons pu constater, à travers le récit des *Gestes des Chiprois*, la concomitance entre les expéditions contre les habitants du Kisrawān et la répression mamelouke des tentatives des Chypriotes, appuyés par les Chrétiens libanais, pour reprendre le contrôle de la côte libano-syrienne à la faveur des invasions mongoles. Cette concomitance nous invite déjà à établir une relation entre les événements. Un autre élément nous oriente vers la même direction : la contiguïté géographique entre les régions habitées par les Maronites et celles qui furent la cible des trois attaques de 1292, 1300 et 1305.

Suivant tous les récits des trois expéditions punitives, l'armée mamelouke se dirigea contre la région appelée Kisrawān ; certains historiens mentionnent aussi le Ġurd⁵². En ce qui concerne le Kisrawān, il est facile de l'identifier avec la région au sud de Ġbayl qui porte encore aujourd'hui

⁴⁹ Voir *supra* n. 10-11.

⁵⁰ Voir *supra*, texte à la note 39.

⁵¹ Voir *supra* n. 10 et 36.

⁵² Textes cités *supra*, n. 9-11, 17-18.

ce nom⁵³ et confine donc avec le territoire habité par les Maronites, même si on peut se demander si, au XIV^e siècle, l'extension de cette région était la même qu'aujourd'hui. Quant au Ġurd, le nom signifie « montagnes » ; d'après Lammens, « la troisième zone, celle des hautes cimes, se nomme le Ġord. Ces appellations générales s'appliquent non seulement aux différents districts du Liban, mais à presque toutes les régions montagneuses de la Syrie... Le caïmacamat du Kasrawân compte également parmi ses mou-dirieh le Ġord de Gebail et le Ġord du Kasrawân. Pour nous, quand nos auteurs parlent des montagnes du Ġord, nous croyons qu'ils veulent désigner les hautes régions du Liban et de préférence celles du Kasrawân »⁵⁴.

On comprend ainsi que la dénomination de Ġurd pourrait indiquer également les hautes montagnes des districts maronites, mais, étant donné que plusieurs régions du Liban peuvent être appelées ainsi, nous ne pouvons pas affirmer d'une façon sûre de quel Ġurd il s'agit et nous devons, par conséquent, nous fonder surtout sur l'indication relative au Kisrawân, qui est, d'ailleurs, présente dans toutes les sources et qui, même avec les réserves que nous venons de faire à propos de la pleine identité avec la région que nous appelons, à présent, de ce nom, se réfère en tout cas à une région contiguë, comme nous venons de le noter, à celle de Ġbayl, où habitaient sûrement, à l'époque, les Maronites.

Est-ce qu'on pouvait assaillir cette région avec une armée sans affecter le territoire limitrophe, celui des Maronites?

Le problème serait, ici, de comprendre d'abord si l'armée pénétra par le sud ou par le nord, car dans ce dernier cas, il était impossible de ne pas traverser les districts maronites, situés justement au nord du Kisrawân.

Pour ce qui concerne l'expédition de 1292, Ibn Kaṭīr se borne à rapporter que « les troupes avaient encerclé la montagne »⁵⁵, ce qui pourrait d'ailleurs, à la rigueur, signifier que les agresseurs se trouvaient aussi du côté nord, c'est-à-dire du côté des Maronites. De toute façon, l'expression « montagne » n'est pas très claire, ne s'agissant pas d'une montagne isolée, mais d'une chaîne de montagnes ; de même, le copte Moufazzal ne nous aide pas beaucoup quand il relate qu'une partie de l'armée était partie de Baalbek, et une autre de Damas pour « se concentrer devant la montagne de Kasrawan »⁵⁶. Quant à Makrizi, il nous dit que le commandant de l'expédition, « à la tête d'une bonne partie de l'armée... se dirigea vers les montagnes du Kesroan, du côté du *Sâhel* »⁵⁷, c'est-à-dire sur la côte, mais il n'explique pas

⁵³ Lammens (1902), p. 462.

⁵⁴ Lammens (1902), p. 463.

⁵⁵ Ibn Kaṭīr (1939), tome XIII, p. 328; trad. française, Laoust (1940), p. 99.

⁵⁶ Moufazzal (1919-1929), PO 69 (14.3), p. 554-555.

⁵⁷ Makrizi (1845), troisième partie, p. 142.

s'ils provenaient du nord ou du sud, à l'instar de Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā qui parle, lui aussi, d'une partie de l'armée venant de la côte qui se rencontra avec l'autre partie « sur la montagne du Kisrawān »⁵⁸.

Puisque, en outre, aucun de ces auteurs ne donne des renseignements de caractère géographique sur le déroulement de l'expédition dans laquelle les Mamelouks furent vaincus et qui se termina plutôt rapidement, il est difficile de comprendre si les opérations militaires contre le Kisrawān s'étendirent aux régions habitées par les Maronites.

Passons maintenant à l'incursion qui eut lieu en 1300. Ibn Kaṭir ne nous donne aucune indication sur l'itinéraire suivi par l'armée mamelouke et se contente d'écrire que « le gouverneur de Damas se mit en route, avec l'armée de Damas, pour les montagnes du Ġurd et du Kisrawān »⁵⁹; de même, Moufazzal ne fait aucune allusion à la route suivie par le gouverneur et ses soldats⁶⁰. Makrizi, cependant, toujours sans donner de renseignements sur la route suivie, nous informe que « les *na'ib* de Safad, de Hamah, de Hems, de Tarabolos, vinrent joindre » le gouverneur de Damas⁶¹, ce qui pourrait être intéressant pour nous, puisqu'il est plus que vraisemblable que le gouverneur de Tripoli (Tarabolos) rejoignit le Kisrawān en partant de sa ville et traversa donc les régions maronites, situées justement entre Tripoli et le Kisrawān. C'est le même trajet que durent probablement faire les gouverneurs de Hama et de Homs, étant donné la collocation de leurs villes.

Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā, de son côté, ne fait qu'une allusion très rapide aux événements de 1300⁶², sans donner aucune information sur la route suivie.

Quant à l'expédition de 1305, Ibn Kaṭir et Makrizi ne fournissent pas d'indications géographiques⁶³, alors que Moufazzal ignore cette expédition. Toutefois, Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā nous donne des renseignements précieux :

Āqquš al-Afram (*nā'ib* de Damas) partit de Damas, en marchant avec l'armée ... et (ils) se dirigèrent vers la montagne des habitants du Kisrawān et du Ġurd, et partirent aussi Sayf al-Dīn Asandamur, *nā'ib* de Tripoli, et Šams al-Dīn Sunquršāh al-Manšūrī, *nā'ib* de Šafad, et ledit Asandamur monta du côté de Tripoli, et il était originaire de leurs tribus, mais il se dépouilla de sa parenté et voulut faire en sorte que, par cette occasion, fût effacée cette honte qui le marquait. Et il monta vers la montagne du Kisrawān par les chemins les plus

⁵⁸ Ṣāliḥ (1969), p. 24-25.

⁵⁹ Ibn Kaṭir (1939), tome XIV, p. 12; trad. française, Laoust (1940), p. 102.

⁶⁰ Moufazzal (1919-1929), PO 96 (20.1), p. 23-24.

⁶¹ Makrizi (1845), quatrième partie, p. 171

⁶² Ṣāliḥ (1969), p. 27.

⁶³ Ibn Kaṭir (1939), tome XIV, p. 35; trad. française, Laoust (1940), p. 104; Makrizi (1845), quatrième partie, p. 252-253.

difficiles et les troupes se réunirent contre eux et renfermèrent leur montagne et en foulèrent sous les pieds des chevaux le sol⁶⁴.

Nous avons ici une déclaration explicite touchant le fait que le gouverneur de Tripoli se rendit dans le Kisrawān, traversant les districts maronites qui se trouvent justement entre Tripoli et le Kisrawān, et de surcroît, qu'il passa par la montagne, vu que Ṣāliḥ parle des « chemins les plus difficiles ». Même si on suppose que les Maronites se soient retirés après la conquête mamelouke dans les régions montueuses, il est évident qu'ils ne durent pas échapper, cette fois-ci, à la « visite » de l'armée d'Asandamur qui traversait leurs terres.

Nous pouvons en conclure qu'en 1292, l'armée venant de la côte arriva peut-être du nord, passant par les trois villes côtières de Tripoli, Batrūn et Ġbayl, en territoire largement habité par les Maronites, mais cela est presque une certitude pour l'expédition de 1300, étant donné la participation des gouverneurs de Tripoli, Hama et Homs, pour lesquels la route en provenance du nord semble avoir été la plus naturelle à suivre.

Si dans ces deux cas, on peut penser que les troupes parcoururent la route maritime, en considération aussi des difficultés présentées par les chemins de montagne de l'intérieur et, peut-être, de la nécessité d'intervenir contre les Chypriotes installés à Ġbayl⁶⁵, en 1305, au contraire, nous savons qu'une partie de l'armée mamelouke, placée sous les ordres du gouverneur de Tripoli, pénétra dans la montagne, au cœur du pays des Maronites, lesquels, par conséquent, ne purent pas ne pas être impliqués, même s'il faut rappeler que, suivant les mots de Ṣāliḥ, Asandamur semble avoir traversé le territoire où les Maronites résidaient surtout dans le but de « monter vers la montagne du Kisrawān ».

La cible de l'expédition semble donc avoir été, de façon incontestable, le Kisrawān. Quelle était la raison de cette insistance dans les opérations contre le Kisrawān, alors que nous avons vu⁶⁶ que les Chrétiens du nord du Liban s'étaient, eux aussi, tournés contre les Mamelouks lors des invasions mongoles?

En effet, nous avons déjà pris en considération la remarque de Lamens qui observe que « si les rebelles du Kasrawân étaient des Maronites, ... on ne s'explique pas non plus pourquoi la sanglante répression de 1305 épargne leurs coreligionnaires des régions du nord, berceau et centre principal de la nationalité maronite »⁶⁷.

⁶⁴ Ṣāliḥ (1969), p. 27-28.

⁶⁵ Voir *supra* n. 43.

⁶⁶ Voir *supra* n. 39, 43-45, 47.

⁶⁷ Texte cité *supra* n. 21.

Nous pouvons ici faire abstraction de la question, centrale pour Lammens, de savoir si les gens du Kisrawān étaient, à l'époque, des Maronites : tout en acceptant les arguments par lesquels Lammens parvient à l'exclure, nous savons cependant que le comportement des Chrétiens avait été semblable à celui dont les habitants du Kisrawān étaient accusés. Le problème, donc, se pose tout de même, quoique d'un autre point de vue : pourquoi le Kisrawān seul était visé et non les régions maronites, alors que les Maronites avaient, eux aussi, montré leur connivence avec les Chypriotes et les autres ennemis des Mamelouks ?

Il y a toutefois un court passage de Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā qui peut, de quelque façon, nous éclairer : une fois le Kisrawān définitivement terrassé, on fit venir, pour l'occuper, des Turcomans qui eurent la tâche de surveiller et défendre cette région et sa côte ; leur contrôle s'étendait « du dehors de la ville de Beyrouth jusqu'aux confins du gouvernement de Tripoli »⁶⁸. Ailleurs, Ṣāliḥ répète l'indication avec une légère variante et d'une façon plus détaillée, rapportant que le territoire soumis aux Turcomans allait « depuis les confins d'Antélias jusqu'à la grotte du lion sur les confins du gouvernement de Tripoli »⁶⁹, c'est-à-dire, probablement, près du fleuve Ma'āmalayn⁷⁰.

Le territoire confié aux Turcomans correspondait, selon toute vraisemblance, à celui où l'expédition punitive s'était déroulée, mais la façon avec laquelle Ṣāliḥ le délimite ne nous fournit pas seulement un renseignement sur le plan géographique⁷¹, mais nous laisse comprendre aussi une réalité importante sur le plan politique : situé entre la région soumise aux seigneurs de Beyrouth, inféodés aux Mamelouks, et celle soumise au gouverneur mamelouk de Tripoli, le Kisrawān, contre lequel on s'était si opiniâtrément acharné, n'était pas administré par un représentant du sultan mamelouk avec résidence sur place. Officiellement dépendant du gouverneur mamelouk de Damas qui, en effet, est toujours mentionné le premier à l'occasion des trois expéditions punitives⁷², mais ne parvenait pas,

⁶⁸ Ṣāliḥ (1969), p. 29.

⁶⁹ Ṣāliḥ (1969), p. 37.

⁷⁰ La « grotte du lion » est, probablement, à identifier avec la grotte qui se trouve dans le voisinage de ce fleuve, contenant un bas-relief qui représente une scène de chasse à l'ours (cf. *Guides Bleus* [1965], p. 82). Lammens semble situer la grotte dans la même région (cf. Lammens [1902], p. 460, n. 1).

⁷¹ À ce point de vue, la délimitation de Ṣāliḥ correspond à ce que le même auteur rapporte à propos des combats qui auraient eu lieu, pendant l'expédition punitive de 1305, près du village de *Nybyh*, vraisemblablement Nibāyh, aujourd'hui dans le Metn, dont il parle comme d'un village du Kisrawān (Ṣāliḥ [1969], p. 96 ; pour le village en question, cf. Moubarac [1984], vol. II/2, p. 702) ; si, en effet, le territoire contrôlé par les Turcomans avait comme frontière sud Antélias, ou bien le voisinage de Beyrouth, le Metn d'aujourd'hui y était aussi compris, même si les écrivains de l'époque l'incluent dans le Kisrawān.

⁷² Voir les textes cités *supra* n. 11, 17 et 18.

apparemment, à y exercer son autorité, ce territoire semble représenter une sorte de *no man's land*.

Ce vide de pouvoir politique dans le Kisrawān nous aide à fournir une réponse à la question que nous venons de nous poser, c'est-à-dire pourquoi cette région fut la cible principale des trois expéditions punitives, alors que les habitants des régions contiguës qui avaient, eux aussi, fait preuve d'hostilité à l'égard des nouveaux maîtres, les Mamelouks, furent impliqués seulement d'une façon secondaire.

La raison de l'acharnement contre le Kisrawān fut, selon toute probabilité, la difficulté de le soumettre au contrôle des autorités relevant du sultanat mamelouk. Dans ce cadre, il faut aussi envisager la stratégie, suivie en 1305, de concéder la vie sauve à ceux qui acceptaient de quitter le Kisrawān pour une autre région du Liban : autant le gouverneur de Tripoli que les émirs du Ġarb, seigneurs de Beyrouth, qui pourtant les avaient combattus sans pitié, les déportèrent dans leurs domaines⁷³, ce qui montre qu'on ne les craignait pas tellement, une fois qu'on les eut encadrés par des gouvernants forts, capables de les tenir en bride.

En ce qui concerne les Maronites, ils avaient été déjà soumis à un contrôle de ce genre, en tant que sujets du gouverneur mamelouk de Tripoli, lequel, en tout cas, prit soin de traverser leur région, même si cela signifiait « monter par les chemins les plus difficiles ».

Ce n'était d'ailleurs pas la première fois que les Chrétiens du Liban subissaient la violence des Mamelouks. Déjà en 1283, avant la chute de la seigneurie croisée de Tripoli, une partie de la montagne maronite avait été dévastée par l'armée mamelouke, dans le cadre des manœuvres de démantèlement progressif des défenses de cette seigneurie⁷⁴. Ensuite, il est très probable que les Maronites furent impliqués lorsque les Mamelouks chassèrent les Génois de Ġbayl en 1300⁷⁵, et il est presque sûr qu'ils le furent dans la défense de l'île de Ruad, où, du moins la plupart des « sergents syriens » massacrés durent être des Maronites⁷⁶.

Dans ce cadre, il est presque naturel de penser que le passage de l'armée d'Asandamur à travers les montagnes habitées par les Maronites avait un but d'intimidation ; bien plus, il est probable que la décision de passer par les « chemins les plus difficiles » fut prise justement pour immobiliser les Maronites et boucher la voie à tout passage d'hommes et d'armes de leur côté. Le fait qu'on éprouva la nécessité de prendre une telle mesure nous laisse deviner que, lors des deux expéditions punitives précédentes, celle de

⁷³ Šālih (1969), p. 28 et 96.

⁷⁴ Voir Cubbe (2006), p. 484-493.

⁷⁵ Texte cité *supra* n. 43.

⁷⁶ Texte cité *supra* n. 47.

1292, conclue par un insuccès des Mamelouks, et celle de 1300, au succès limité⁷⁷, l'appui des Maronites avait joué un rôle non négligeable.

5. *Asandamur*

Nous avons vu que, suivant les *Gestes des Chiprois*, lorsqu'il voulut assaillir les Templiers occupant l'île de Ruad, « le sultan persécuteur des Chrétiens fit armer seize entre galères et brigantins, et les envoya à Tripoli de Syrie, à un de ses amiraux qui s'appelait Sandamour, et avait été chrétien »⁷⁸.

Le gouverneur de Tripoli, celui-là même qui avait traversé avec son armée le pays des Maronites pour attaquer le Kisrawān, était donc un renégat chrétien.

De son côté, Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā rapporte, dans un passage que nous venons de lire⁷⁹, qu'Asandamur « était originaire de leurs tribus », le mot « leurs » se référant aux gens de la montagne libanaise.

On pourrait être porté à conclure, en mettant ensemble les deux informations, qu'Asandamur était né dans l'une des communautés chrétiennes du Liban et, selon toute probabilité, dans la communauté maronite.

La réalité dut, cependant, être différente, puisque dans des sources autres que Ṣāliḥ, Asandamur reçoit l'appellation de « al-Kurḡī »⁸⁰, « le Géorgien ».

Il s'agit d'une donnée importante pour nous, parce qu'elle éclaire la nature des relations entre le gouverneur de Tripoli et les gens de la montagne libanaise, notamment les Chrétiens : en vérité, c'était pour eux un étranger. Selon toute probabilité, il avait été réduit en esclavage et acheté par les Mamelouks, pour être élevé suivant leurs usages⁸¹. Il est donc difficile de penser qu'Asandamur ait pu avoir une sympathie ou une complicité avec les Chrétiens du Liban, ce qui confirme notre supposition que son passage à travers la région chrétienne de la montagne avait pour finalité de menacer les Chrétiens et de les réduire à l'impuissance.

Ṣāliḥ souligne d'ailleurs qu'« il se dépouilla de sa parenté et voulut faire en sorte que, par cette occasion, fût effacée cette honte qui le marquait »⁸². À vrai dire, il ne semble pas que ce fût la première fois qu'Asandamur tint

⁷⁷ Voir *supra* n. 11, 17 et 46.

⁷⁸ Texte cité *supra* n. 47.

⁷⁹ Texte cité *supra* n. 64.

⁸⁰ Voir la bibliographie citée à la note 1, p. 28 de Ṣāliḥ (1969); Makrizi (1845), quatrième partie, p. 36, 65, 146, 169.

⁸¹ Sur le mode de recrutement des Mamelouks, voir *supra* n. 12.

⁸² Texte cité *supra* n. 64.

à « se dépouiller » du souvenir de ses origines chrétiennes, si nous prenons en compte les informations qu'on peut glaner ici et là dans l'*Histoire des Sultans Mamelouks* de Makrizi, à propos de sa carrière.

En 1298, à la fin d'une campagne victorieuse, « onze places, du territoire des Arméniens, tombèrent également au pouvoir des vainqueurs. L'émir Bektasch confia toutes ces forteresses à l'émir Seïf-eddin-Asendemur-Kurdji, l'un des émirs de Damas. Il ne cessa de les occuper jusqu'à l'arrivée des Tatars. Alors, il vendit tout ce qui s'y trouvait d'objets précieux, et évacua ces villes, qui furent reprises par les Arméniens »⁸³. En effet, lors de l'invasion du Khan Ġāzān, en 1299/1300, lorsque l'armée mamelouke se dirigea vers Homs, où l'attendait une défaite désastreuse, « l'émir Asendemur-Kurdji, gouverneur des conquêtes faites sur le territoire de Sis, arriva, amenant avec lui le souverain de cette contrée, après avoir levé le revenu de la ville de Tell-Hamdoun »⁸⁴. Il donnait ainsi une preuve évidente de loyauté, d'autant plus qu'il y avait aussi des Géorgiens dans l'armée de Ġāzān⁸⁵.

Ensuite, au moment de la grande déroute de l'armée mamelouke, ce sont les *Gestes des Chiprois* qui nous montrent « Saindamor, qui fut ensuite bailli et roi des amiraux » parmi les quelques fuyards qui parvinrent à se sauver seulement « grâce à leurs chevaux, puisqu'ils avaient de bonnes montures »⁸⁶.

Il eut cependant la consolation de voir un renversement de situation puisque, lorsque le sultan mamelouk rentra à Damas après le départ des Mongols, selon Makrizi, « l'émir Asendemur-Kurdji, *nā'ib* des conquêtes du territoire de Tarabolos, arriva à la tête des troupes de ce canton. Il avait remplacé l'émir Katloubek »⁸⁷.

Ce fut en sa qualité de gouverneur de Tripoli qu'il fut chargé, suivant les *Gestes des Chiprois*, d'intervenir contre les Templiers sur l'île de Ruad⁸⁸.

Une fois considéré le curriculum d'Asandamur, ainsi que ses origines chrétiennes, mais d'une région bien éloignée du Liban, il reste à nous demander pour quelle raison Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā le présente comme originaire de la Montagne libanaise.

L'explication la plus plausible semblerait qu'on identifiait alors les Chrétiens, en tant que tels, avec les gens de la Montagne.

Nous avons déjà considéré l'opinion selon laquelle l'accusation d'être alliés des Chrétiens était une forme de propagande contre les sectes musul-

⁸³ Makrizi (1845), quatrième partie, p. 65.

⁸⁴ Makrizi (1845), quatrième partie, p. 146.

⁸⁵ Richard (1953), p. 343 ; Irwin (1986), p. 100.

⁸⁶ Texte cité *supra* n. 39.

⁸⁷ Makrizi (1845), quatrième partie, p. 169.

⁸⁸ Texte cité *supra* n. 47.

manes de la Montagne, jugées hérétiques par les Mamelouks qui suivaient l'Islam sunnite⁸⁹.

Dans le passage en question, cependant, Ṣāliḥ ne fait aucune allusion aux Chrétiens, ni au fait qu'Asandamur était né chrétien, et l'assimilation du gouverneur aux gens de la Montagne ne devient évidente qu'à la lumière des renseignements fournis par les *Gestes des Chiprois*.

D'ailleurs, Ṣāliḥ reste fidèle au principe de faire le moins possible mention des Chrétiens et il ignore même l'appellation « al-Kurḡī » qui apparaît en d'autres sources ajoutée au nom d'Asandamur. En ce qui concerne ce personnage, l'évaluation de Ṣāliḥ est positive au point de vue de sa fidélité à la cause des Mamelouks, fidélité que l'historien libanais souligne en notant que le gouverneur de Tripoli s'était « dépouillé » de ses origines.

D'un autre côté, il faut prendre en considération le fait que Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā, mort en 1436, n'est pas un témoin direct des événements qui nous intéressent, mais qu'il en a connaissance par une source antérieure, probablement conservée dans les archives de sa famille⁹⁰. Nous pourrions, par conséquent, penser qu'il rapporte les faits comme il les a trouvés dans sa source et que l'assimilation du gouverneur d'origine géorgienne au gens de la Montagne libanaise provient de cette source qui, étant contemporaine des événements, pouvait sous-entendre les origines chrétiennes d'Asandamur pour des lecteurs qui en étaient sûrement au fait.

Toutefois, même envisagée sous cette perspective, l'attribution d'une origine libanaise à un Géorgien, fidèle serviteur et haut fonctionnaire du sultanat mamelouk, uniquement parce qu'il était né chrétien, indique clairement l'importance de la présence chrétienne parmi les rebelles de la Montagne libanaise, d'autant plus qu'on trouve une pareille idée chez un auteur comme Ṣāliḥ, lui-même libanais et qui, selon toute probabilité, utilisait des sources libanaises, c'est-à-dire dans un milieu où les différentes composantes de la population libanaise devaient être bien connues et distinguées.

6. Des sources maronites ?

À l'origine de notre difficulté pour comprendre quelle fut la position des Maronites lors des trois expéditions punitives contre le Kisrawān, il y a l'absence de sources maronites contemporaines aux événements.

En effet, le premier ouvrage parvenu jusqu'à nous qui puisse être considéré comme une histoire des Maronites est l'*Histoire des Temps* du Pa-

⁸⁹ Voir *supra* n. 32.

⁹⁰ Voir *supra* n. 8.

triarche Iṣṭifān al-Duwayhī (1630-1704)⁹¹ qui utilise et transcrit, lorsqu'il a pu les repérer, les rares sources anciennes, d'habitude des colophons ou d'autres annotations sur des manuscrits. Mais pour les années qui suivent immédiatement la fin des seigneuries croisées, on ne dispose même pas de ce genre de documentation⁹², de sorte que le Patriarche-historien se base, pour la reconstruction de cette époque, surtout sur les historiens musulmans qu'il cite explicitement lorsqu'il rapporte nos trois expéditions⁹³. Seul fait exception le poète et évêque maronite Ġibrā'il Ibn al-Qilā'i, qui n'est cependant pas contemporain des événements, vu qu'il est mort en 1516⁹⁴ : Duwayhī se réfère à lui une première fois à propos de la fin de la seigneurie croisée de Ġbayl et d'une entreprise victorieuse de l'armée maronite qui l'aurait suivie⁹⁵ et, une deuxième fois, de l'expédition de 1305 contre le Kisrawān⁹⁶.

De nos jours, Salibi identifia la victoire de l'armée maronite qui, d'après Ibn al-Qilā'i, suivit la conquête de Tripoli et de Ġbayl par les Mamelouks, avec celle remportée par les montagnards libanais sur l'armée mamelouke en 1292⁹⁷, tout en reconnaissant qu'Ibn al-Qilā'i « ne donne aucune date lorsqu'il rapporte le fait »⁹⁸.

Pour ce qui concerne le récit du même auteur que Duwayhī met en relation avec les événements de 1305, il faut rappeler que, dans le poème d'Ibn al-Qilā'i, ce récit précède le voyage du Patriarche maronite à Rome en 1215. Duwayhī a été le premier à reconnaître dans ce texte une description de la dévastation du Kisrawān de 1305, et il fut suivi, en des temps plus récents, par Salibi, sur la base d'un ensemble de considérations historiques déjà largement expliquées sur lesquelles il n'y a pas lieu de revenir ici⁹⁹.

De toute façon, il faut d'abord remarquer qu'Ibn al-Qilā'i ne fournit pas de dates pour les deux épisodes et que, si on peut leur donner une collocation chronologique, c'est seulement sur la base de la relation qu'il établit entre ces épisodes et des faits connus, comme la visite du Patriarche maronite à Rome pour le concile de 1215 et la prise de Tripoli par les Mamelouks.

Cependant, le simple fait qu'Ibn al-Qilā'i place un épisode donné de

⁹¹ Voir à son sujet Salibi (1959), p. 89-93; Dib (1962), p. 157-162.

⁹² Cubbe (2006), p. 456.

⁹³ Duwayhī, *Temps*, p. 266-291 et aussi Salibi (1959), p. 114-119, 144-145.

⁹⁴ Voir sur cet écrivain Salibi (1959), p. 22-35; Jabre-Mouawad (2001), p. 61-93.

⁹⁵ Duwayhī, *Temps*, p. 269-281.

⁹⁶ Duwayhī, *Temps*, p. 288-289.

⁹⁷ Pour cette expédition, voir *supra* n. 10-11.

⁹⁸ Salibi (1959), p. 69-70.

⁹⁹ Sur toute la question, cf. Cubbe (2006), p. 461-462 (avec références bibliographiques).

son poème avant ou après un événement connu, n'est pas une indication chronologique suffisante, puisque les études accomplies sur son œuvre jusqu'à présent ont montré qu'il utilise des sources d'origine disparate et que souvent il fait confluer dans un unique récit des matériaux narratifs qui se réfèrent à des événements différents et éloignés dans le temps. Il est alors difficile de tirer de ses écrits des renseignements convaincants sur le plan historique, quoique l'incohérence même de ces récits constitue parfois l'indice qu'il ne les a pas inventés, mais qu'ils sont tirés de sources préexistantes¹⁰⁰. L'exemple le plus évident est, d'ailleurs, justement celui de la description de la dévastation du Kisrawān qui, selon la plupart des historiens modernes, se réfère à des événements qui se sont déroulés presque un siècle après l'époque indiquée par Ibn al-Qilā'i.

L'origine de ses sources doit par conséquent être tirée au clair pour chaque épisode, lorsqu'il est possible, par un travail de critique interne du texte.

Quant aux deux épisodes qui nous intéressent ici, nous allons d'abord prendre en considération la dévastation du Kisrawān, parce que son examen est plus simple et qu'il a été mieux étudié.

Bien que la datation fournie pour cet épisode ne semble pas satisfaisante, il faut noter que, sur le plan géographique, Ibn al-Qilā'i fait explicitement mention du Kisrawān quand il décrit la dévastation et ceci est confirmé par la mention de Hiṣn Mi'rāb, une localité qui se trouve au-dessus de Ġoṣṭā¹⁰¹, justement dans le Kisrawān.

Pour le reste, le récit de la dévastation, par ailleurs plutôt général, coïncide avec celui qu'on trouve dans les sources arabes¹⁰², tandis que la promesse contenue, suivant Ibn al-Qilā'i, dans l'édit du sultan, d'une récompense en argent pour « celui qui coupe un arbre du Kisrawān », semble l'écho d'une promesse analogue dans l'édit du sultan Qalāwūn de 1286 qui se réfère, cependant, à qui aura tué ou fait prisonnier un habitant de la même région¹⁰³.

Dans les versets d'Ibn al-Qilā'i, on ne trouve aucune indication qui puisse nous orienter vers une tradition typiquement maronite. Même si les habitants du Kisrawān y sont identifiés à deux reprises comme *naṣṣrānī*,

¹⁰⁰ Pour les problèmes historiques posés par les poèmes d'Ibn al-Qilā'i, voir Salibi (1959), p. 36, 53, 87; Cubbe (2006), p. 457-463, 468-469.

¹⁰¹ Pour le texte du poème, cf. Ibn al-Qilā'i (1930), p. 607-608; pour Hiṣn Mi'rāb, *ibidem*, p. 606, n. 1.

¹⁰² Voir *supra* n. 18.

¹⁰³ Voir *supra* n. 9.

c'est-à-dire, « Chrétiens »¹⁰⁴, ce nom pouvait facilement être inséré dans une narration où, à l'origine, il était absent.

Ibn al-Qilā'i aurait donc pu puiser à des sources musulmanes, y compris celles que nous connaissons, et il n'y a rien, dans ce qu'il rapporte, qui puisse prouver une implication des Maronites ou qui puisse nous orienter vers des sources spécifiquement maronites. Il n'a donc, substantiellement, rien à ajouter à ce que nous connaissons.

Il en est autrement pour l'entreprise victorieuse des *muqaddamīn* maronites qu'Ibn al-Qilā'i fait suivre à la prise de Tripoli et de Ġbayl par les Mamelouks¹⁰⁵, puisque ce récit ne se retrouve dans aucune autre source qui nous soit connue.

Le théâtre des opérations militaires y est indiqué dans le territoire compris entre les fleuves Fīdār et Madfūn, près desquels des troupes maronites avaient pris position et ce territoire correspond, en effet, à l'arrière-pays de Ġbayl, de même que quatre des cinq villages mentionnés comme lieux d'origine des *muqaddamīn* qui prirent part à l'entreprise, appartiennent à la région de Ġbayl : Mišmiš, Aylīğ, Liḥfid et 'Āqūra¹⁰⁶.

Nous sommes donc face à une tradition qui provient du pays de Ġbayl, pays dont les habitants étaient en grande partie Maronites¹⁰⁷, et cela est d'autant plus intéressant quand on se rappelle qu'Ibn al-Qilā'i était lui-même originaire de cette région, plus précisément du village de Liḥfid¹⁰⁸. Par conséquent, nous pouvons penser qu'il rapporte ici des traditions locales, répandues parmi la population maronite dont il faisait partie.

Cela dit, il nous reste à nous interroger sur le contexte historique de l'épisode, puisque, étant donné le style de compilation propre d'Ibn al-Qilā'i, dont nous avons déjà parlé¹⁰⁹, rien ne nous assure que le contexte primitif ait été réellement celui que cet auteur indique. Considérons donc, tout d'abord, le récit.

Suivant Ibn al-Qilā'i, le seigneur croisé de Ġbayl avait pu garder son domaine pour quelques temps après la chute de la seigneurie croisée de Tripoli, moyennant des concessions de terres aux Mamelouks, mais il s'était vu bientôt dans l'impossibilité de rester et avait quitté la ville par mer, avec

¹⁰⁴ Ibn al-Qilā'i (1930), p. 607-608.

¹⁰⁵ Ibn al-Qilā'i (1931), p. 467-470.

¹⁰⁶ Pour ces villages, cf. Salibi (1959), p. 70, n. 4, 5, 6 ; Moubarac (1984), vol. II/2, p. 679, 575.

¹⁰⁷ Voir *supra* n. 28.

¹⁰⁸ Voir *supra* n. 94.

¹⁰⁹ Voir *supra* n. 100.

ses sujets, en mettant le feu aux maisons pour ne rien laisser aux conquérants¹¹⁰.

Alors, « les *muqaddamīn* des montagnes entendirent ; / ils frappèrent les *nawāqīs*¹¹¹ et assemblèrent (les hommes) ; / pour le Madfūn et le Fīdār ils tirèrent au sort¹¹² // deux mille et deux mille valeureux. // En une troupe de trente mille ils descendirent / des montagnes, telles les pluies, / et les Musulmans, sortis à l'aventure, // rencontrèrent la mort qui se présenta sur le champ de bataille // »¹¹³.

Vient ensuite la description d'une des entreprises les plus remarquables des *muqaddamīn* durant le combat. Deux d'entre eux parvinrent à franchir un fossé et ouvrir les portes d'une ville – la suite du récit fait comprendre qu'il s'agit de Ġbayl –, tuant les sentinelles, poursuivant les fuyards et égorgeant ceux qui résistaient. Le poète conclut : « il n'y avait pas de refuge d'entre leurs mains, // et personne ne put se sauver // »¹¹⁴.

Puis le poème enchaîne :

Ils abandonnèrent Ġbayl, la rendirent désolée et la dépeuplèrent, / il n'y avait personne qui écrivait, ni personne qui lisait, / toutes les églises étaient abandonnées // et il n'y avait ni *nāqūs*¹¹⁵, ni croix //.

Le poète évoque ensuite le destin de l'unique *muqaddam* mort dans la bataille et les exploits des Maronites postés sur les deux fleuves Fīdār et Madfūn :

Et quant à ceux qui étaient auprès du Fīdār, / les Kurdes en grand nombre se dirigèrent vers eux, / et ils ne savaient pas qu'il y avait des gens près du fleuve, // et personne d'entre eux ne se sauva //... Quant à ceux qui étaient près du Madfūn, / ils prirent les armes de qui s'échappait / et, dans la nuit, ils parvinrent à Batrūn : // ils trouvèrent les Chrétiens en tranquillité.

¹¹⁰ Ibn al-Qilā'ī (1931), p. 168. Ce récit est placé par l'éditeur Būlus Qar'ālī dans la section précédente par rapport à la narration qui suit, mais, pour comprendre l'enchaînement des événements, il faut lire le poème d'une façon continue, la division en section ayant été établie par l'éditeur.

¹¹¹ Il s'agit de plaques de fer qu'on frappait pour substituer les cloches dont l'usage était interdit aux Chrétiens.

¹¹² Le Madfūn et le Fīdār sont deux fleuves qui se trouvent l'un au sud, l'autre au nord de la ville de Ġbayl (cf. Salibi [1959], p. 70, n. 1). Je traduis à la lettre le verbe qui signifie « tirer au sort », le sens de la phrase étant qu'ils tirèrent au sort qui aurait été envoyé au Madfūn et qui au Fīdār. Salibi (1959), p. 70, traduit : « Placing by lot two thousand of the brave on each of al-Madfūn and al-Fīdār ».

¹¹³ Ibn al-Qilā'ī (1931), p. 467.

¹¹⁴ Ibn al-Qilā'ī (1931), p. 468.

¹¹⁵ Voir *supra* n. 111.

Alors, ils retournèrent pour mettre en déroute ceux qui étaient venus aider leurs ennemis. Après avoir remporté une victoire définitive, ils se rendirent de nouveau au pays de Batrūn et, plus précisément, à Kfarḥay, où résidait le Patriarche¹¹⁶.

Comme nous l'avons déjà relevé, il est évident que les opérations militaires décrites ici visaient à la défense de Ġbayl et de la région environnante. Il faut pourtant remarquer que, malgré les exploits victorieux des *muqaddamīn* maronites, la ville de Ġbayl semble être restée dans la désolation, puisque la dernière image que nous avons de cette ville est lugubre : « il n'y avait personne qui écrivait, ni personne qui lisait, toutes les églises étaient abandonnées et il n'y avait ni *nāqūs*, ni croix ».

Dans la suite du poème, on raconte de quelle façon les *muqaddamīn*, réunis auprès du Patriarche, se partagèrent le butin et procédèrent à l'élection d'un nouveau *muqaddam* pour la région de Bšarri¹¹⁷, mais on ne dit pas un mot sur la destinée ultérieure de Ġbayl, ni sur un éventuel regain de prospérité de cette ville. Par conséquent, nous devons penser que la victoire des *muqaddamīn* maronites sur le Fidār n'avait pas empêché la perte de cette ville de la part des Chrétiens, ce qui est aussi confirmé par le fait que les rescapés du guet-apens du Fidār avaient pu parvenir jusqu'au Madfūn en parcourant la région de Ġbayl du sud au nord et, probablement, en passant dans le voisinage de la ville.

Le scénario semblerait donc être celui de la perte définitive de la ville de Ġbayl par les Chrétiens. Il se pourrait que, dans un pareil contexte, les Maronites aient essayé de mettre en sûreté les régions où ils habitaient, du moins celles de l'intérieur, plus éloignées de la côte, ce qui expliquerait la contradiction apparente du récit qui décrit l'abandon de Ġbayl, tout en vantant la victoire des *muqaddamīn* maronites de la région.

D'après le poème, les Maronites « descendirent des montagnes, telles les pluies », ce qui nous dit l'importance du rôle joué par les Maronites habitant les régions montagneuses. En effet, s'ils ont posté leurs hommes à l'embouchure de deux fleuves, c'est justement, croyons-nous, parce qu'ils entendaient défendre l'accès aux régions internes, car les vallées des fleuves représentent, en l'absence de routes, une voie privilégiée pour y pénétrer.

Si donc la tradition dont Ibn al-Qilā'i est tributaire ne concerne pas directement les expéditions contre le Kisrawān, puisqu'elle se réfère de toute évidence à des événements qui se passèrent autour de la ville de Ġbayl, elle semble se rapporter à des circonstances qui furent proches, dans le temps, de ces expéditions, puisque la description de la désolation de Ġbayl nous renvoie à la fin des seigneuries croisées, avec une saveur d'authenticité que

¹¹⁶ Ibn al-Qilā'i (1931), p. 468-469.

¹¹⁷ Ibn al-Qilā'i (1931), p. 469-472.

souligne justement l'incohérence, à vrai dire seulement apparente, comme nous venons de l'expliquer, entre cette désolation et le triomphe des *muqaddamīn* maronites.

La tradition rapportée par Ibn al-Qilā'ī contient un autre détail qui la rend digne de foi. Comme le note Salibi¹¹⁸, le fait que le seigneur croisé de Ġbayl put se maintenir dans sa seigneurie plus longtemps que les autres, suivant ce qu'Ibn al-Qilā'ī rapporte¹¹⁹, est confirmé par l'historien arabe Makrizi, d'après lequel, après la prise de Tripoli par le sultan mamelouk, « la ville de Djoubail (Ġbayl) fut laissée au pouvoir de son prince, moyennant une somme d'argent qu'on exigea de lui »¹²⁰. Nous en avons un écho, semble-t-il, dans la chronique du Copte Moufazzal, contemporain des faits, qui énumère la ville de Ġbayl parmi les villes qui furent acquises par le sultan al-Ašraf Ḥalīl, fils et héritier de Qalāwūn, après la prise de Saint-Jean-d'Acre¹²¹ et donc, dans un deuxième moment par rapport à la prise de Tripoli.

En fait, si le seigneur croisé de Ġbayl quitta la ville après la chute de Saint-Jean-d'Acre en 1291, les événements rappelés par Ibn al-Qilā'ī, qu'il faut mettre en relation avec le départ de ce seigneur, ne durent pas être très éloignés de la première expédition contre le Kisrawān, celle de 1292, avec laquelle Salibi relie le récit d'Ibn al-Qilā'ī¹²². Il semble évident que l'intervention des *muqaddamīn* maronites, telle que la rapporte Ibn al-Qilā'ī, fut une réaction non pas à l'attaque contre le Kisrawān, mais à la perte de la ville de Ġbayl. Il s'agirait donc d'événements proches les uns des autres et peut-être en relation, mais qu'il convient de distinguer.

Il faut ajouter que Duwayhī aussi, qui reproduit fidèlement dans son histoire le récit d'Ibn al-Qilā'ī, place autant le départ du seigneur de Ġbayl que l'entreprise des *muqaddamīn* maronites parmi les événements qui suivirent la prise de Saint-Jean-d'Acre par les Mamelouks¹²³.

À la lumière du récit des *Gestes des Chiprois*, cependant, on pourrait aussi penser à un autre cadre historique, celui de la reconquête transitoire de Ġbayl par les Génois, en 1300.

Suivant ce récit, il semble qu'il y eut un combat autour de Ġbayl, qui aboutit à l'abandon de la ville de la part des Chrétiens:

Lorsque, cependant, Ġazan fut parti, les Sarrasins de la région se rassemblèrent

¹¹⁸ Salibi (1958), p. 67-68.

¹¹⁹ Voir *supra* n. 110.

¹²⁰ Makrizi (1845), troisième partie, p. 103.

¹²¹ Moufazzal (1919-1929), PO 69 (14.3), p. 548.

¹²² Voir *supra* n. 97.

¹²³ Duwayhī, *Temps*, p. 268-272.

et attaquèrent Ġbayl, dont la galère et les autres petits vaisseaux recueillirent le comte, messire Jean d'Antioche et les autres Chrétiens et, pendant qu'on les recueillait, ils furent assaillis par les Sarrasins qui tuèrent et noyèrent plusieurs des Chrétiens. Le comte Guy de Jaffa et messire Jean d'Antioche, la galère des Génois et les autres Chrétiens rentrèrent à Chypre¹²⁴.

Un pareil contexte expliquerait aussi pourquoi Ibn al-Qilā'ī revient une deuxième fois sur l'abandon et la désolation de Ġbayl, après avoir déjà relaté l'incendie de la ville au moment de la fuite de son seigneur, incapable de s'y maintenir.

De toute façon, de l'ensemble des renseignements dont nous disposons, on comprend que la ville de Ġbayl, restée plus longtemps que les autres villes de la côte libanaise dans les mains du seigneur croisé, fut ensuite reprise par les Génois, à l'époque de l'invasion des Tatars, à moins qu'il ne faille penser que ce que Makrizi rapporte à propos de la permanence prolongée du seigneur croisé en cette ville ne soit, en vérité, qu'un souvenir de la reconquête de 1300.

Il est intéressant de noter ici un petit détail du poème d'Ibn al-Qilā'ī.

Ibn al-Qilā'ī appelle le seigneur de Ġbayl qui avait pu conserver sa ville quelques mois après la fin des autres seigneuries croisées « al-malik Yūḥannā », mais parmi les héritiers de la famille des seigneurs de Ġbayl vivant à cette époque, ce nom n'existe pas, ce qu'on a mis au compte des nombreuses inexactitudes du poète¹²⁵.

Il est toutefois à noter que le « seigneur de Ġbayl » est un personnage qui revient souvent dans le poème d'Ibn al-Qilā'ī, mais presque toujours sans que le nom soit précisé¹²⁶. Il est donc étrange de le trouver mentionné à cet endroit et il serait naturel de penser qu'il figure ici parce que la source d'Ibn al-Qilā'ī le faisait en ce cas et cette source, peut-être, n'était pas la même que celle des autres épisodes qui parlent d'un « seigneur de Ġbayl » et remontent à une époque précédente.

Ceci dit, on pourra rappeler ce que les *Gestes des Chiprois* nous rapportent à propos de la présence à Ġbayl un moment reconquise en 1300 par les Génois, d'un « messire Johan d'Antioche » et on peut se demander s'il ne pourrait pas être le « malik Yūḥannā » d'Ibn al-Qilā'ī, d'autant plus qu'à ce dernier personnage n'est pas attribué explicitement le titre de seigneur de Ġbayl, même s'il est mis en relation avec les vicissitudes de cette ville.

Dans l'état actuel de nos connaissances, il est de toute façon difficile de choisir laquelle de nos deux hypothèses répond à la vérité historique, mais

¹²⁴ Texte cité *supra* n. 43.

¹²⁵ Cf. Salibi (1959), p. 67 et 69, n. 1 (avec bibliographie).

¹²⁶ Voir les réflexions faites à ce propos dans Cubbe (2006), p. 473.

ce qu'il est possible de constater, c'est l'existence d'une tradition maronite provenant de la région de Ġbayl qui conserve le souvenir de luttes autour de cette ville, dans un contexte historique qui a tout l'air d'être celui des premières décennies après la conquête mamelouke, c'est-à-dire à la même époque des trois expéditions contre le Kisrawān.

Cette tradition est confirmée par les *Gestes des Chiprois* qui nous montrent la population chrétienne de la région de Ġbayl impliquée lors de la poursuite des rescapés de l'armée mamelouke après la victoire des Mongols, ainsi que la ville même de Ġbayl utilisée comme base par les Chypriotes venant sur le continent, pour se mettre en contact avec les Arméniens et leur alliés, les Mongols, et reconquise par les Génois, justement à la faveur de la crainte inspirée par ces mêmes Mongols.

On peut donc en conclure avec très grande probabilité à l'existence d'une tradition maronite concernant lesdits événements, tradition dont le poème d'Ibn al-Qilā'ī nous a, selon toute vraisemblance, conservé le souvenir.

Quant à l'implication des Maronites dans la résistance contre l'occupant mamelouk, pendant les années qui suivirent le départ des Croisés de la côte libanaise, les *Gestes des Chiprois* nous en offrent une preuve évidente, tandis que ce que nous rapporte Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā sur l'itinéraire suivi par le gouverneur de Tripoli en 1305, nous ouvre les yeux sur l'implication très probable des Chrétiens libanais lors de la répression sanglante des gens du Kisrawān : même si ces derniers n'étaient pas des Maronites, il est plausible de penser que les Maronites leur fournirent un soutien et qu'on dut les bloquer en 1305, pour parvenir finalement à terrasser le Kisrawān.

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SUMMARY

After the destruction of Crusaders' last dominions in Lebanon by the Mamluks, the conquerors submitted to three punitive expeditions (1292, 1300, 1305) one of the Lebanese regions, Kisrawān, owing to the resistance opposed them by its inhabitants. The part played by Maronites in this resistance is a subject of discussion for historians. By comparing different historical sources, the present study brings into light Maronites' collaboration, in the same years, with Cypriot Crusaders' efforts to conquer back Lebanon, while probably supporting Kisrawān's inhabitants.

The Slavic Version of the Euchologion of the Great Church and its Greek Prototype¹

The Euchologion of the Great Church is the Patriarchal Book of Rites used in the Great Church of Constantinople (Hagia Sophia). Miguel Arranz, who dedicated his professional life to studying the Euchologion, classified Greek manuscripts into two main types of the Patriarchal Book of Rites: pre-iconoclastic and post-iconoclastic.² The pre-iconoclastic Patriarchal Euchologion was found in manuscripts preserved in the periphery of the Byzantine Empire in Sinai and in Southern Italy. There is a codex of the eighth century from the Vatican Library — *Barberini gr. 336* — and in other collections manuscripts of the tenth-eleventh centuries like Russian National Library *Greek 226* (known as the Euchologion of Porphyry Uspensky); Russian State Library *Sevastianov 474*; and *Sinaiticus Greek 959*. The post-iconoclastic Euchologion of the Great Church was preserved in manuscripts of the eleventh-thirteenth centuries: Paris, *Coisl. 213* (AD 1027), Grottaferrata *Γ.β.1* (13th cent.),³ and Codex Athens National Library 662 (from the turn of the 13-14th cent.). The post-iconoclastic-type Euchologion includes the Diataxis of Patriarch Methodius (843-847) on the reconciliation of renegades, and witnesses to the process of correcting the Euchologion and other liturgical books under Patriarch Methodius after the triumph of icon veneration.

In the opinion of M. Arranz, the Euchologion of the Great Church is just a concept: perhaps there was no actual liturgical text witnessing to it in the concrete as a liturgical book. At church services the patriarch and other bishops would have used scrolls and/or small codices containing sev-

¹ Work on this article was accomplished in the context of the course of studies at the Institute of Oriental Churches at Würzburg University supported by the Katholischer Akademischer Ausländer Dienst, Germany. I am deeply grateful to Prof. Christian Hannick for his help in the preparation of this article.

² M. Arranz "Les Sacrements de l'ancien Euchologe constantinopolitain," OCP 48 (1982) 284-335.

³ M. Arranz thought the manuscript *Γ.β.1* had been written in the eleventh century. But the codex was successfully dated to the thirteenth century by its editors S. Parenti and E. Velkovska. See: S. Parenti, E. Velkovska. "A Thirteenth Century Manuscript of the Constantinopolitan Euchology: Grottaferrata *Γ.β.1*, alias of Cardinal Bessarion," *Bollettino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata*, Ser. III, 4 (2007) 175-196.

eral similar services: for instance, the Eucharistic liturgy, ordinations or chirotonia, or texts for several needs. One can deduce this from a note of Strategius, a presbyter of the Great Church, who wrote in manuscript *Coisl.* 213 that they collected for inclusion in their codex (τοῦ εὐχολογίου βίβλος) various services except the Eucharistic liturgy, because the Eucharistic texts were already found in the scrolls used at the Eucharistic services. Prayers from the antiphons of the Psalter, and other prayers read in some services of the daily liturgical cycle, were also found in another book (ἐν ἑτέρῳ βιβλιδαρίῳ). This note allows us to suggest that the presbyter Strategius collected into one codex various liturgical texts that had been used since ancient times in Hagia Sophia, creating thereby an Euchologion codex later rewritten and completed but not used at actual church services. Having compared the contents of all the above-mentioned codices, M. Arranz came to the conclusion that it is possible to reconstruct the text of that Euchologion of the Great Church on the base of Γ.β.1, a reconstruction he published taking the Grottaferrata manuscript as the basis of his hypothetical Euchologion, and relegating the codices of Strategius and Athens to the apparatus⁴.

A certain link of the Euchologion with the services of the Great Church can be observed in the following liturgical texts: 1) the Order of day services, or ἁσματικὴ ἀκολουθία; 2) the lities held at various sites in Constantinople; 3) the orders of Passion Week served in the Great Church; 4) the office for the coronation or crowning of Byzantine emperors.

In this article we propose to analyze the post-iconoclastic Greek euchologies containing actual services of the Great Church: *Coisl.* 213 (1027), Γ.β.1 (13th cent.) and *Athens gr.* 662 (the turn of the 13-14th cent.),⁵ because the Slavonic translation of the Euchologion of the Great Church was made on the basis of a similar codex. In this article we shall study two issues. First, which Greek prototype was in the hands of the Slavic translator, and what were its contents and distinctive features in comparison with the above mentioned manuscripts. Second, we shall seek to understand how the Slavic translator utilized that Greek codex: what did he translate exactly? What did he reject or add? On what sections of the Greek text did he comment?

The Slavonic translation of the Euchologion of the Great Church is known in two parchment codices dated to the turn of the fourteenth – fifteenth centuries, both preserved in the Synodal Collection of the State Historical Museum: *Syn.* 675 and *Syn.* 900. It is difficult to estimate the exact date of

⁴ M. Arranz, *L'Eucologio Constantinopolitano agli inizi del secolo XI. Hagiasmatarion & Archieratikon (Rituale & Pontificale) con l'aggiunta del Leiturgikon (Missale)*, Roma 1996.

⁵ We were not able to study the manuscript *de visu*, so we follow the description of M. Arranz.

the translation. We have suggested that the translation was made by Russian scribes of the circle of Metropolitan Cyprian, but done, perhaps, at the time of Metropolitan Photius in the context of the dynastic marriage between Anna, a daughter of Great Prince Basil Dmitrievich, and John, heir to the Byzantine throne and eldest son of Byzantine Emperor Manuel Palaiologos.⁶ That very event, in our opinion, could have been the main stimulus for such interest in the cathedral orders of the Byzantine Capital. There is no commonly accepted opinion on the exact date of that marriage, because the data of the Russian chronicles does not coincide with those of the Byzantine Chronicle of Doux. But there is no doubt that the marriage took place in the period from 1411 to 1414, and lasted for only three years, for it is known that Anna died in Constantinople during the Black Death.⁷

Both Slavic codices are almost identical in content, but the first seven sections of Syn. 675 are lost. Both manuscripts were described by A. Gorsky and C. Nevostruev,⁸ who compared their liturgical texts with the Euchologion of Jacques Goar, noting where the texts correspond. Some rituals of those manuscripts have been published and analyzed. Thus, the Great (Holy) Week rites: on Great (Holy) Thursday the Rite of the Ablution of the Holy Trapeza or altar table, the Rite of the Holy Chrism; on Great (Good) Friday the Rite of the Catechumenate; were published and studied by N. Th. Krasnoseltsev, who concluded that the Rite of the Ablution the Holy Trapeza in Syn. 900 contained a new translation, and that its sequence of prayers differed from that in Old Russian practice. He published the Great (Good) Friday Catechumenate ritual from Syn. 675 and Solov. 1085/1194 (the Book of Needs of Metropolitan Macarius).⁹ The Rite of Crowning from one of those Books of Needs was published by E. V. Barsov¹⁰. But in pre-revolutionary Russian research those manuscripts had not been studied as a whole codex with an original contents of prayers and services.

Miguel Arranz was the first scholar to identify two Synodal codices with the Euchologion of the Great Church. But he did not make a thorough analysis of their contents, stressing rather the description of the Greek cop-

⁶ Т. И. Афанасьева, "К вопросу о времени и месте славянского перевода Евхология Великой церкви," *Русский язык в научном освещении* 1 (27) (2014) 237-251.

⁷ И. П. Медведев, "Внучка Дмитрия Донского на византийском престоле?," *Труды Отдела древнерусской литературы* 30 (1976) 255-262.

⁸ А. В. Горский – К. И. Невоструев, *Описание славянских рукописей Московской Синодальной библиотеки*, III.1, Moscow 1869, 128-153.

⁹ Н. Ф. Красносельцев, *К истории православного богослужения: По поводу некоторых церковных служб и обрядов ныне не употребляющихся (Материалы и исследования по рукописям Соловецкой библиотеки)*, Kazan 1889.

¹⁰ Е. В. Барсов, *Древнерусские памятники священного венчания царей на царство*, Moscow 1883, 25-31.

ies. From Syn. 675 he took for publication only the prayers of the daily cycle related to the Order of day services (ἁσματικὴ ἀκολουθία)¹¹. In his brief notes on Syn. 675, Arranz mentioned a Serbian origin of that Euchologion,¹² a localization of the translation obviously based on the opinion of Gorsky and Nevostruev that the orthography of Syn. 675 was “Russian with a mixture of Serbian.”¹³

The language of the translation allows us to confirm its Russian origin. As for the “features of its Serbian protograph,” they can be explained as a manifestation of the marked “Second South Slavic influence” in Russian orthography noted at the turn of the fourteenth-fifteenth centuries. On the basis of the common method of translation of prayers and liturgical instructions, one can conclude that all services in those codices were translated simultaneously — which means that the Euchologion was not gathered from services dispersed in different Russian Books of Needs, but was translated from the Greek as a whole collection of texts by a single Russian translator, who relied on the linguistic norms of the scribal school of Tyrnovo and, at the same time, used lexical Russianisms.¹⁴

A comparison of the Slavic manuscripts reveals that the best copy for further study of the Slavic translation would be Syn. 900, although previous researchers preferred the copy in Syn. 675.¹⁵ That can be explained by the fact that Gorsky and Nevostruev described the latter manuscript very thoroughly, whereas codex Syn. 900, following Syn. 675 in the list, remained almost un-described — it was only noted that the manuscript contained the same liturgical texts as the previous one.¹⁶ The contents of Syn. 900 is more complete, because there are texts of Vespers and Orthros at the beginning of the manuscript, both of which are absent in Syn. 675 — its initial sections have been lost. Several services also missing in Syn. 675 can be found at the end of Syn. 900, all of which are mentioned in the table of contents of Syn. 900. Besides, there are lacunae in the middle of Syn. 675: the prayer over the funeral repast was absent in Syn. 675 and inserted into it later, on a separate page (161r), whereas in Syn. 900 that prayer was in the codex initially. That is why a supposition that Syn. 900 was copied directly from Syn. 675 does not seem correct.¹⁷ In our research we take Syn. 900 for the

¹¹ М. Арранц, *Евхологии Константинополя в начале XI в. и Песенное последование по требнику митрополита Киприана*. Избранные сочинения по литургике, III, Moscow 2003.

¹² Ibid, p. 8, note 1.

¹³ А. В. Горский – К. И. Невоструев, *Описание славянских рукописей*, III.1, p. 149.

¹⁴ Т.И. Афанасьева, “К вопросу о времени и месте”.

¹⁵ М. Арранц, *Евхологии Константинополя в начале XI в.*; А. Филиппов, “Уникальный древнерусский евхологий XIV в.,” *Кадашевские чтения* (2011) 257-274.

¹⁶ А.В. Горский – К.И. Невоструев, *Описание славянских рукописей*, III.1, 152.

¹⁷ A. S. Slutsky and A. Philippov note that the manuscript Syn. 900 was copied from Syn.

main copy without lacunae in the text. All references to the folia of this manuscript will be done according to that copy.

THE CONTENTS OF THE SLAVIC CODICES

In the both Slavic manuscripts, as well as in the Greek codex *Coisl.* 213 and the Euchologion of *Athens gr.* 662, there is a table of contents. In *Г.β.1* the table of contents was not preserved because the beginning of the manuscript is missing. But according to M. Arranz there was no table of contents in *Г.β.1* because there would not have been enough space for it and for three liturgies on the 32 lost opening folia.¹⁸ The presence of a table of contents in the Slavic translation makes it similar to the codices *Coisl.* 213 and *Athens gr.* 662. In *Coisl.* 213, as well as in the Slavic version of the Euchologion, there are no Eucharistic liturgies, whereas they are found in *Г.β.1* and in *Athens gr.* 662.

In the Euchologion of the Great Church, M. Arranz distinguished certain blocks of liturgical services as public or private. Let us compare them to the contents of the Slavic version of the Euchologion of the Great Church.

1. *The Order of Daily Services, or Hasmatiki Akoluthia (Vespers, Pannychis, Midnight Hour, Orthros, and the "Little" First, Third, Sixth and Ninth Hours)*

In two copies of the Euchologion of the Great Church, *Coisl.* 213 and *Г.β.1*, there is the complete cycle of the Order of daily services (ἁσµατικὴ ἀκολουθία). The cycle in *Athens gr.* 662 is not complete; it shows a revision of rites in Vespers, and its gradual replacement with the monastic variant of the service. In *Athens gr.* 662 there is no Pannychis, Midnight Office (μεσονύκτιος) or Little Hours. As for Vespers, it is divided into two parts: the first half of the cycle of the daily services is placed at the beginning of the codex (ff. 67r-71r); and the second section, with the Prayers for Catechumens, is given separately on ff. 208r-212r. Then there are the Prayers in the Sacristy, in the Great Baptistery, and for the Catechumens on Great (Good) Friday.¹⁹

675; we can hardly agree with that. A. С. Слуцкий, "Заамвонные молитвы в рукописных славянских служебниках," *Byzantinorossica* 3 (2005) 208; А. Филиппов, "Уникальный древнерусский евхологий XIV в.," 258.

¹⁸ М. Арранц, *Евхологий Константинополя в начале XI в.*, 16.

¹⁹ М. Arranz, "Les Sacrements de l'ancien Eucologe constantinopolitain," *OCP* 48 (1982) 318, 320.

The Slavic version has the following: the first part, comprising Vespers and Orthros, is placed at the beginning of *Syn.* 900; the second part, with the Prayers of the Small Antiphons and of the Catechumens and the Faithful, is located in the final part of the codex from folio 137v on. After Vespers, on f. 143r, there is the Prayer in the Sacristy or Skeuophylakion — in the Slavic version it is called *мѣтва окръ҃гна глѣма въ сѣсѣдохранѣици*; in *Coisl.* 213 and *Athens gr.* 662 it is called *εὐχή τῶν καταγύρων γινομένη ἐν τῷ σκευοφυλακίῳ*). After this prayer there follows on f. 143v the Prayer in the Great Baptistery after Vespers. Then comes the rite of the Catechumenate and the second part of Orthros, after which is the Pannychida, the Midnight Service (*μεσονύκτιος*), and the Little Hours.

Thus, the cycle of daily services in the Slavic version has not been simplified as in the Athens codex, but rather rearranged. All services except *τритоέκτη* are present in *Syn.* 900, which makes it similar to *Coisl.* 213, but the first part of Vespers and the Orthros, in accord with the monastic tradition of those services, has been relocated to the beginning of the codex. Such revisions were hardly the work the Slavic translator, so one can presume this to have been a distinctive feature of the Greek prototype used for the translation.

2. *The Lities of Hagia Sophia at Different Sites in Constantinople*

There are nine lities in *Coisl.* 213, more than in all other Greek copies: *Γ.β.Ι* has seven, the Athens codex only five.²⁰ In the Slavic translation in addition to the common lity of the All-night Service (f. 77v) there are the following lities of Hagia Sophia: in the forum (f. 80v), in the field before the Tribunalium (f. 83v), the lity in case of panic (f. 85r), the lity for a festive day (f. 85v), and the lity for the anniversary of the consecration of a church (f. 84r).

The lity of Hagia Sophia in the forum in the Slavic version is called, as in *Coisl.* 213 (f. 79v): *τάξις γινομένη ἐπὶ λιτῇ μελλούσῃ τῆς μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας ἐξέρχεσθαι* — *чѣн бываемыи в литію хотѣиши великия цркви исходити*. The rubrics opening and following the ritual in the Slavic version coincide exactly with those in *Coisl.* 213. In *Γ.β.Ι* and *Athens gr.* 662 the opening rubric describing the exit from the church is absent. There are two prayers only: at the beginning of the lity, and at the Inclination or Bowing of Heads.

The second lity in *Syn.* 900 (f. 83v) has no literal match in any Greek manuscript. It is called *чѣн бываемыи такоже въ литію*, whereas in *Coisl.* 213, whereas in *Γ.β.Ι* and in *Athens gr.* 662 it has the longer title: *Τάξις γινομένη ἐν τῷ κάμπῳ τοῦ τριβουναλίου, ἐν ταῖς ἐξ ἔθους ἐκεῖσε ἀπερχομέναις λιταῖς*. This

²⁰ М. Арранц, *Евхологий Константинополя в начале XI в.*, 22.

lity in the Slavic translation is closer to that of *Γ.β.Ι* because it omits mentioning the singing of the antiphons, which is present in *Coisl.* 213. The prayer 'Υπὲρ τῶν εὐσεβεστάτων ἡμῶν βασιλέων καὶ πάντος τοῦ παλατίου καὶ τοῦ στρατοπέδου αὐτῶν is translated as **О бѣговерныхъ князехъ и всеа полаты и воехъ ихъ**, where the Greek title βασιλεύς was adapted to the Russian situation. We presume in this case that the translator simplified the Greek text, adapting it to the Russian milieu where the phrase ἐν τῷ κάμπῳ τοῦ τριβουναλίου would have been unclear.

In *Syn.* 900 (f. 85r) the third lity was served in Constantinople on September 25, June 5, and October 26, as well as on Wednesday after the first Sunday following Pentecost to commemorate the Barbarian attack and the earthquake. In the Codex of Strategius (f. 81v) the lity has a very long title, shortened in *Γ.β.Ι* and in *Athens gr.* 662: εὐχή λεγομένη ἐν λιτῇ γινομένη διὰ φόβον εἰς τὸν κάμπον εἰς τὸν ἅγιον Διομήδην ἐξώπορτα καὶ εἰς τὴν παλαιὰν πέντραν. The Slavic version is without rubrics, and includes only a prayer called **мѣтва глѣма молѣѣ бывающа вѣ страхъ нашествна ратныхъ**.

The fourth lity in *Syn.* 900 (f. 85v) is connected with the lity of a festive day (ἐν ἡμέρᾳ τῆς ἐορτῆς) in all three Greek copies. It is presented with two prayers only: **Бѣ ѿче ꙗко нашего ісха сынъ бѣгословенъ в вѣки** and **Блѣко гѣ приклони срѣца наша в послушание бжѣствныхъ ти повелѣнии**. There are no rubrics, and it coincides with the lity in *Coisl.* 213, f. 91r, in *Γ.β.Ι*, f. 37v, and in *Athens gr.* 662, f. 169r.

As in *Coisl.* 213, the Slavic version has the lity for the anniversary of the consecration of the church. It is found on f. 63r, and named: **оуставъ бываемыи на обновленне храма**. The texts of its rubrics and prayers coincide exactly with those in the Codex of Strategius. In two other Greek copies of the Euchologion of the Great Church, *Γ.β.Ι* and *Athens gr.* 662, this lity is absent.

The Slavic version omits the lity celebrated for the New Year on September 1, and to commemorate the foundation of the city on May 11. As in the Euchologion of the Great Church, that lity is also described in detail in typicons.²¹ In the Codex of Strategius it was placed on f. 81v and completed with detailed rubrics. In *Γ.β.Ι* and the Athens codex this lity is absent, as it also is in the Slavic version.

Two lities are presented in the Slavic version not as lities,²² but as common prayers in case of drought or earthquake, and placed in other parts of

²¹ А. А. Дмитриевский, *Описание литургических рукописей, хранящихся в библиотеках православного Востока*, I, Киев 1895, 152-154.

²² In the opinion of M. Arranz, since the earthquake prayers followed just after the lities in the Codex of Strategius, they were also read at the lities. М. Арранц, *Евхологий Константинополя в начале XI в.*, 22.

There are only three such rites in the Slavic version of the Euchologion. They are located in the same part of the manuscript, and were unknown in earlier Russian Ritual Books. Those three rites are:

- f. 144v: The Rite of the Catechumenate,
- f. 147v: The Prayers for Holy Baptism on Great (Holy) Saturday,
- f. 150r: The Rite of the Catechumenate on Great (Good) Friday.

In *Coisl.* 213 and *Γ.β.Ι* the of the Catechumenate rite is included in the ἁσματικὴ ἀκολουθία, in Orthros (Matins). That short text anticipated the prayer for the catechumens and reflected an extremely ancient practice of the Catechumenate at Orthros. In the Euchologion of *Athens gr.* 662 there is no such order. In the Slavic version that rite was included in the Order of Daily Services, as in *Coisl.* 213 and in *Γ.β.Ι*, and located at the end of the codices.

The prayers of Holy Baptism on Great (Holy) Saturday are similar in the Greek sources. That service is absent in *Coisl.* 213 because of the loss of some folia, but it is present in *Γ.β.Ι* on f. 53v and in *Athens gr.* 662 on f. 92r. The rubric opening the Slavic rite declares that it is to be celebrated after the renunciation of heresies has already taken place in adult baptism; in the case of children, they are only to observe: Folio 147v: **ПРЕДВАРШИМЪ ОУБО ВСѢМЪ ѠРИЦАТЕЛЬНЫМЪ ПО РАДУ ТАКОЖЕ ПИШЕТЬ ОУСТАВЪ КРЩЕНІА ДѢТННАГО НСПЕРВА И ДАЖЕ ДО МЛТВЫ ГЛЮЩА ТАКО ВЛДКО БѢ ПРИЗОВИ РАБА СВОЕГО.** There is no such rubric with the Baptismal rites in the Greek manuscripts. We may suppose that in the process of working out the Slavic version all the rituals of the Catechumenate and Baptism were skipped on purpose because they already existed in Russian practice, and only those rites celebrated in the Great Church of Constantinople by the Patriarch were translated. After the above-mentioned rubric, the Slavic version of the ritual coincides with the Greek text. Thus, the rites of Baptism in the Slavic version are a deliberate revision of the Greek source.

Just after the Rite of Baptism on Great (Holy) Saturday on f. 150r, there is another text, the Rite of the Catechumenate on Great (Good) Friday: **ОГЛАШЕНІЕ ВЕЛИКІА ПАТНИЦЫ ПАСХИ ѠРЧЕНІЕ И СЛОЖЕНІЕ БЫВАЕМОЕ В ВЕЛИКЮ ПАТНИЦУ.**

This is an ancient cathedral service which, like the previous order, was previously unknown in Russia. It coincides completely with the text in *Γ.β.Ι* (f. 64v) and *Athens gr.* 662 (f. 212v), but is missing in *Coisl.* 213 because of the loss of some folia.

In the Slavic version of the Euchologion of the Great Church there is also a rather rare Rite for the Adoption of a Child. It is not found in *Γ.β.Ι*, but this τάξις γινομένη εἰς τεκνοποίησιν is in *Athens gr.* 662 on ff. 203r-205v.

In *Coisl.* 213 this rite is defective because of a lacuna after f. 40v: there is only the end of the prayer. In the table of contents in *Coisl.* 213 this order is named: εἰς τεκνοποίησιν εὐχή. The Slavic version of the Euchologion designates it on folio 125v as **чинъ бываемыи на чадотворение**. It comprises a short rubric: **сѡнѣ хотѣи быти сѣнѣ внѣтрѣ затворѣ жертвенника. и възпріемникѣ извонѣ. ѡбонъ свѣчи держаще и глеть сѣнникѣ ГИ помолнимся**, two prayers **ГИ бѣ нашъ иже възлюбленнымъ ти ѡтрокомъ...**, **Бѣ пребл҃гынъ и непостижимынъ творче всѣхъ...** and a prayer after Holy Communion **ГИ бѣ нашъ иже съ нб҃се сшедынъ хлѣбъ**. The same order of prayers is found in the Athens codex. The end of the first prayer **ГИ бѣ нашъ иже възлюбленнымъ ти ѡтрокомъ...** is in the Codex of Strategius, and perhaps there was only that prayer in *Coisl.* 213. The Communion Prayer **Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ὁ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ καταβάς ἄρτος** in *Coisl.* 213 is written on f. 87r and is not connected with the rite of adoption. We may suppose that in the thirteenth-fourteenth centuries that order was expanded, and that a late variant was present in the Slavic version. It is noteworthy that the order of adoption published by Dmitrievsky from a 13th century manuscript of the Monastery of Mount Sinai, Sinai 982, significantly differs from the version of the Euchologion of the Great Church.²³

6. *The Rites of Great (Holy) Thursday*

In the Euchologion of the Great Church there are rites designated by the tradition of the Constantinople cathedral during Great (Holy) Week, on Great (Holy) Thursday: the rite of the Ablution of the altar table or Trapeza, the rite of Washing the Feet, and the rite of the Consecration of the Holy Oil or Chrism. The Slavic translation of the Euchologion has all three rites, listed one after another in the table of contents.

The first order is present in all three Greek Euchologions, but the Slavic translation is closest to the text in *Coisl.* 213 (f. 23r), where we see the same title and the same opening rubric as in the Slavic version: **Εὐχή εἰς τὴν ἀπαμφίασιν τῆς ἁγίας τραπέζης τὴν γινομένην τῇ ἁγίᾳ πέμπτῃ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως μετὰ τὴν συμπλήρωσιν τῆς τριτοέκτης οὕτως. Πρῶτον μὲν θυμιᾷ ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς...** — **чинъ и мѣтвы бывающа на оумовенне сѣиѣ трапезы бывающаго въ сѣи и великии четвергъ сѣлемъ по скончании третиаго и шестаго часа. первие оубо кадитъ сѣль ...** (f. 65r). In *Г.β.1* (ff. 71v-72v) and in the Athens codex (ff. 97r-97v) there are two prayers without the opening rubric.

The order of the Washing of Feet on Great (Holy) Thursday is preserved only in *Г.β.1* and *Athens gr.* 662; there is a lacuna in this part of *Coisl.* 213. The Slavic translation has a lengthy opening rubric on folio 67v that is absent in the copies from Grottaferrata and Athens. In this case, the Slavic

²³ А. А. Дмитриевский, *Описание*, II, 238.

vices, each with his own role in the liturgical ceremonial. The translation of these rubrics provided Russian readers with the possibility of discovering how everything was organized in the Great Church of Constantinople.

8. *Rites for Reconciling Heretics and Non-Christians to Orthodoxy*

These orders were absent in the ancient Slavic *Books of Needs*. They appear for the first time in the Serbian *Kormchaya (Nomokanon)*. The translation in the *Euchologion* of the Great Church partly duplicated articles on the Abjuring of pagans and non-Christians presented in some *Nomokanons*. But it facilitated finding a reliable list of heresies rejected by the Orthodox Church, along with some rules for the reconciliation and integration of heretics and non-Christians into Orthodoxy. The Greek codex *Coisl.* 213 has the largest number of abjuration or reconciliation rites; their sequence coincides with the list in the Council Rules. *Г.β.1* has fewer services: the rites for the Melchizedekians or Saracens are missing, as well as the Sermon by St Gregory of Nicea on the Jews.²⁵ In the Slavic version there are the following reconciliation rites:

- f. 195v ѡ еже како достонѣтѣ примати ѿ ересен различныхъ...
- f. 198r како достонѣтъ проклинати списаннемъ ересь тѣхъ еже ѿ манихен приходящихъ
- f. 208r оуставъ бываемыи на еже ѿ манихен обращающихся
- f. 211r мефодия стѣнишаго патрѣарха константиноу града оуставленне о еже различными образы и възрасты обращающихся
- f. 219r мѣтва еже сътворити язычника оглашена
- f. 219v како достонѣтъ примати иже ѿ жидовъ къ христіанствѣи вѣрѣ приходящихъ
- f. 221v изложение и оуставъ крѣпчаншии о еже како достонѣтъ примати ѿ жидовъ къ христіанствѣи вѣрѣ приходящаго.
- f. 229v о милхиседекохъ иже и ѿ еродотѣи и аѿиγγагохъ
- f. 235r чинъ и оуставъ бываемыи на еже ѿ сарацинъ обращающихся къ чистѣи истинѣи вѣрѣ нашен христіаньскон

Consequently, the Slavic version is closer to *Coisl.* 213, but the Slavic translator skipped two rites: for the reconciliation via written abjuration of Nestorians, Eutychians, Jacobites and other ancient heretics; and the rite of reconciliation of Eunomians by their rebaptism. The Sermon of St. Gregory of Nyssa on the Jews is also missing. Note that in spite of the fact that there are fewer orders in *Г.β.1* and in the Athens codex, those two skipped rites mentioned above are present in them on folio 95v and folio

²⁵ М. Арранц, *Евхологий Константинополя в начале XI в.*, 34.

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Consequently, the Slavic version is closer to *Coisl.* 213, but the Slavic translator skipped two rites: for the reconciliation via written abjural of Nestorians, Eutychians, Jacobites and other ancient heretics; and the rite of reconciliation of Eunomians by their rebaptism. The Sermon of St. Gregory of Nyssa on the Jews is also missing. Note that in spite of the fact that there are fewer orders in *Г.β.1* and in the Athens codex, those two skipped rites mentioned above are present in them on folio 95v and folio

²⁵ М. Арранц, *Евхологии Константинополя в начале XI в.*, 34.

In *Coisl.* 213 this rite is defective because of a lacuna after f. 40v: there is only the end of the prayer. In the table of contents in *Coisl.* 213 this order is named: εἰς τεκνοποίησιν εὐχή. The Slavic version of the Euchologion designates it on folio 125v as **чинъ бываемыи на чадотворение**. It comprises a short rubric: **сѣи хотѣи быти сѣи вънѣ затворъ жертвенника. и въсприемникъ извонѣ. ѡбон свѣчи держаще и глеть сѣи ГИ помолимся**, two prayers **ГИ бѣ нашъ иже възлюбленнымъ ти ѡтрокомъ...**, **Бѣ преблгын и непостижимын творче всѣхъ...** and a prayer after Holy Communion **ГИ бѣ нашъ иже сѣи сшедын хлѣбъ**. The same order of prayers is found in the Athens codex. The end of the first prayer **ГИ бѣ нашъ иже възлюбленнымъ ти ѡтрокомъ...** is in the Codex of Strategius, and perhaps there was only that prayer in *Coisl.* 213. The Communion Prayer **Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ὁ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ καταβὰς ἄρτος** in *Coisl.* 213 is written on f. 87r and is not connected with the rite of adoption. We may suppose that in the thirteenth-fourteenth centuries that order was expanded, and that a late variant was present in the Slavic version. It is noteworthy that the order of adoption published by Dmitrievsky from a 13th century manuscript of the Monastery of Mount Sinai, Sinai 982, significantly differs from the version of the Euchologion of the Great Church.²³

6. *The Rites of Great (Holy) Thursday*

In the Euchologion of the Great Church there are rites designated by the tradition of the Constantinople cathedral during Great (Holy) Week, on Great (Holy) Thursday: the rite of the Ablution of the altar table or Trapeza, the rite of Washing the Feet, and the rite of the Consecration of the Holy Oil or Chrism. The Slavic translation of the Euchologion has all three rites, listed one after another in the table of contents.

The first order is present in all three Greek Euchologies, but the Slavic translation is closest to the text in *Coisl.* 213 (f. 23r), where we see the same title and the same opening rubric as in the Slavic version: **Εὐχή εἰς τὴν ἀπαμφίασιν τῆς ἁγίας τραπέζης τὴν γινομένην τῇ ἁγίᾳ πέμπτῃ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως μετὰ τὴν συμπλήρωσιν τῆς τριτοέκτης οὕτως. Πρῶτον μὲν θυμιᾷ ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς...** — **чинъ и мѣтвы бывающа на оумовение сѣи трапезы бывающаго въ сѣи и великии четвергъ сѣи по скончании третиаго и шестаго часа. первне оубо кадитъ сѣи ...** (f. 65r). In *Г.β.1* (ff. 71v-72v) and in the Athens codex (ff. 97r-97v) there are two prayers without the opening rubric.

The order of the Washing of Feet on Great (Holy) Thursday is preserved only in *Г.β.1* and *Athens gr.* 662; there is a lacuna in this part of *Coisl.* 213. The Slavic translation has a lengthy opening rubric on folio 67v that is absent in the copies from Grottaferrata and Athens. In this case, the Slavic

²³ А. А. Дмитриевский, *Описание*, II, 238.

source is of seminal importance for reconstructing the text of the rubric, which obviously was once found also in *Coisl.* 213, because most of the ancient rites in the Slavic version are closer to the Codex of Strategius. Then, there follow two prayers, after which there is a detailed description of what the priests do, and after that there is the third and final prayer. *Г.β.1* and *Athens gr.* 662 contain a shorter version of the rite, opening with the rubric: γινόμενης συναπτῆς ὑπὸ τοῦ διακόνου ὁ ἱερεὺς ἐπεύχεται, after which there are three prayers without any description of what the clergy does.

The third rite, on the creation of the world on Great (Holy) Thursday — о створеніи мира бывающн великн четвергъ (f. 75r) — coincides in the Slavic version with the texts of *Г.β.1* (f. 70r) and the Athens codex (f. 95r). In *Coisl.* 213 this rite is not preserved because of the loss of some folia.

7. *The Rites of Consecration of a Church and of the Trapeza*

The Greek copy of *Coisl.* 213 begins with these rites. In *Г.β.1* they are located in the middle of the codex, but the selection of the rites is the same in the both manuscripts. In the Slavic Euchologion these rites are gathered together as follows:

- f. 30r чинъ бываемы на основанне цркви и потчненне крстѹ
- f. 31r чинъ бываемы на ѿщненне цркви и на вѣдрѹженне еже въ немъ сѣмъ трапезы
- f. 57v чинъ и оуставъ бываемы внегда нѣкако позыблетсѣ сѣмъ трапеза
- f. 60r оуставъ нномъ бываемы ѿ поколебовшонсѣ сѣмъ трапезѣ
- f. 63r оуставъ бываемы на обновленне храма.

The Slavic scribe translated all rites present in the Euchologion of the Great Church, despite of the fact that some of them had been known in the Old Slavic written tradition. Thus, in the Service Book of the State Historical Museum, *Syn.* 604 (early 13th cent.), on folio 27v, there is the Rite of the Ablution of the Trapeza or altar table on Great (Holy) Thursday (чинъ на помѣвенне сѣмъ трапезамъ бываган въ сѣмъ великн четвъртокъ). But in another translation²⁴ in the Book of Rites of *Soph.* 1056, on folio 80v, there is the Rite of the Consecration of a Church (чинъ бываемый на ѿщненне цркви), but here too in a different translation. In the Euchologion of the Great Church, unlike in other euchologies, we see abundant notes on how one should celebrate the rites on the basis of these orders. These rubrical descriptions show that there were many clergymen participating in the ser-

²⁴ Н.Ф. Красносельцев, *К истории православного богослужения по поводу некоторых церковных служб и обрядов ныне не употребляющихся. Материалы и исследования по рукописям Соловецкой библиотеки*, Kazan 1889, 65-73.

vices, each with his own role in the liturgical ceremonial. The translation of these rubrics provided Russian readers with the possibility of discovering how everything was organized in the Great Church of Constantinople.

8. *Rites for Reconciling Heretics and Non-Christians to Orthodoxy*

These orders were absent in the ancient Slavic *Books of Needs*. They appear for the first time in the Serbian *Kormchaya* (*Nomokanon*). The translation in the *Euchologion* of the Great Church partly duplicated articles on the Abjuring of pagans and non-Christians presented in some *Nomokanons*. But it facilitated finding a reliable list of heresies rejected by the Orthodox Church, along with some rules for the reconciliation and integration of heretics and non-Christians into Orthodoxy. The Greek codex *Coisl.* 213 has the largest number of abjuration or reconciliation rites; their sequence coincides with the list in the Council Rules. *Г.β.1* has fewer services: the rites for the Melchizedekians or Saracens are missing, as well as the Sermon by St Gregory of Nicea on the Jews.²⁵ In the Slavic version there are the following reconciliation rites:

- f. 195v ѡ еже како достонѣтѣ примати ѿ ересей различныхъ...
- f. 198r како достонѣтъ проклинати списаннемъ ересь тѣхъ еже ѿ манихей приходѣщихъ
- f. 208r оуставъ бываемыи на еже ѿ манихей обращающихся
- f. 211r мефодия стѣнишаго патриарха константинанѣ града оуставленне о еже различными образы и възрасты обращающихся
- f. 219r мѣтва еже сътворити пазычника оглашена
- f. 219v како достонѣтъ примати иже ѿ жидовъ къ христіанствѣи вѣрѣ приходѣщихъ
- f. 221v изложение и оуставъ крѣпчаншии о еже како достонѣтъ примати ѿ жидовъ къ христіанствѣи вѣрѣ приходѣщаго.
- f. 229v о мнѣхиседекохъ иже и ѿ еродотіанѣхъ и аѿиγγанѣхъ
- f. 235r чинъ и оуставъ бываемыи на еже ѿ сарацинъ обращающихся къ чистѣи истинѣи вѣрѣ нашен христіаньскон

Consequently, the Slavic version is closer to *Coisl.* 213, but the Slavic translator skipped two rites: for the reconciliation via written abjuration of Nestorians, Eutychians, Jacobites and other ancient heretics; and the rite of reconciliation of Eunomians by their rebaptism. The Sermon of St. Gregory of Nyssa on the Jews is also missing. Note that in spite of the fact that there are fewer orders in *Г.β.1* and in the Athens codex, those two skipped rites mentioned above are present in them on folio 95v and folio

²⁵ М. Арранц, *Евхологию Константинополя в начале XI в.*, 34.

225r respectively. Perhaps those rites were absent in the Greek codex used for the translation.

9. *The Prayers Behind the Ambon and the Dismissals*

In the Euchologion of the Great Church there were certain prayers behind the ambon that are absent in modern liturgical practice.²⁶ The publication and study of those prayers was done, among others, by A. S. Slutsky and the author of this article.²⁷ It is noteworthy that *Coisl.* 213 and *Γ.β.Ι* have a number of such prayers behind the ambon, whereas in the Athens codex they are absent. *Coisl.* 213 has fewer such prayers than *Γ.β.Ι*. Missing in *Coisl.* 213 are two prayers for Sundays, but there is an added prayer for “the Day of God’s Mother,” marked in boldface. The following table gives the list of the prayers in sequence:

<i>Syn.</i> 900	<i>Γ.β.Ι</i>	<i>Coisl.</i> 213
109r Всесилныи хѣ бѣ и сѣснтелю наш иже на конецъ вѣкомъ	109r Παντοδύναμε Χριστέ, ὁ Θεὸς καὶ Σωτὴρ ἡμῶν	91v Παντοδύναμε Χριστέ, ὁ Θεὸς καὶ Σωτὴρ ἡμῶν
109v Вѣдо бѣ бгомъ и ги млсти	109v Δέσποτα Θεὲ θεῶν καὶ Κύριε τοῦ ἐλέους	— Δέσποτα Θεὲ θεῶν καὶ Κύριε τοῦ ἐλέους
128r Ходатаи бѣ и члвкомъ хѣ	110r Μεσίτα Θεοῦ καὶ ἀνθρώπων Χριστέ	92r Μεσίτα Θεοῦ καὶ ἀνθρώπων Χριστέ
129r Отрашно и преславно	110v Φρικτὴ καὶ παράδοξος ὑπάρχει	— Φρικτὴ καὶ παράδοξος ὑπάρχει

²⁶ The study of the prayers behind the ambon in Greek euchologies, testifying to them as an old Byzantine tradition, has been undertaken frequently in historical liturgical research. See, for instance: T. Minisci, “Le preghiere ὀπισθάμβωνοι dei codici criptensi,” *Bolletino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata* 2 (1948) 65-75, 117-126; 3 (1949) 3-10, 61-66, 121-132, 185-194; 4 (1950) 3-14; A. Jacob, “Les prières de l’ambon du Barber. gr. 336 et du Vat. gr. 1833,” *Bulletin de l’Institut historique belge de Rome* 37 (1966) 17-51; A. Jacob, “Nouveaux documents italo-grec pour servir à l’histoire du texte des prières de l’ambon,” *Bulletin de l’Institut historique belge de Rome* 38 (1967) 109-144; S. Parenti, “Testimoni sconosciuti di preghiere dell’ambone,” *OCP* 62 (1996) 197-205; R. Taft, “Toward the Origin of the Opisthambonos Prayer of the Byzantine Eucharistic Liturgies,” *OCP* 72 (2006) 5-39, 305-331; R. Taft, “Proper Slavonic Opisthambonos Prayer,” *Studi sull’Oriente Cristiano* 10 (2006) 133-166.

²⁷ A. С. Слущкий, “Заамвонные молитвы,” 184-211; Т.И. Афанасьева, “Заамвонные молитвы в Синайском глаголическом миссале XI в. и в славянских служебниках XIII-XV вв.,” *Вестник Санкт-Петербургского университета* Ser. 9-3 (2011) 65-76. See also the previous note.

129v Нензгланно еже к намъ твоє вѣзлюбленне г҃и	111r Ὑφατος ἡ πρὸς ἡμᾶς σου ἀγάπησις Κύριε	— Ὑφατος ἡ πρὸς ἡμᾶς σου ἀγάπησις Κύριε
130v Вѣко г҃и бѣ наш нсто- чнвыи намъ сп҃снне стра- стнѹ ти	111v Δέσποτα Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ὁ πηγάσας ἡμῖν	94r Τίς λαλήσει τὰς δυναστείας σου
130v Помощниче нашъ бѣ единныи безгрѣшныи	— Ὁ ὑπερασπιστὴς ἡμῶν Κύριε	94v Δέχου τόνυν, εὐμενεστάτη τίμια δῶρα
131r Г҃и ст҃ын нже вѣ стѣхъ почивааи	112r Κύριε ἅγιε ὁ ἐν ἁγίοις ἀναπαύομενος ὁ μόνος ἀναμάρτητος	95r Ὁ τὸν ἐν σώματι ἄγγελον
131v Г҃и бѣ наш надежда и вѣзрадованне всѣм	112v Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡ ἐλπίς καὶ ἀγαλλίαμα πάντων	— Χριστέ ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ὁ δωρησάμενος ἡμῖν
132r Вѣдо хѣ бѣ наш нже бѣ слово и ст҃нъ	— Δέσποτα Χριστέ ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ὁ τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγος	95v Δέσποτα Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ὁ τῇ ἐνεργείᾳ
132v Вѣдо г҃и бѣ нашъ нже дѣнствомъ прѣтго ти д҃ха	113r Δέσποτα Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ὁ τῇ ἐνεργείᾳ τοῦ παναγίου σου	96r Δέσποτα Χριστέ ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ὁ τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγος
133r Хѣ бѣ нашъ даровавыи намъ ст҃ы сво оу҃чнкы и аплы	113v Χριστέ ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ὁ δωρησάμενος ἡμῖν	— Κύριε ἅγιε ὁ ἐν ἁγίοις ἀναπαύομενος
134r Кто вѣзглетъ силы твоѣ	— Τίς λαλήσει τὰς δυναστείας	100v Τῆς ἐν τόπῳ ἁγίῳ σου στάσεως
134v Ёже вѣ плоти аг҃ла и велнка вѣ рождєнныхъ женами	114v Ὁ τὸν ἐν σώματι ἄγγε- λον	
135r Ёже вѣ мѣстѣ ст҃ѣмъ твоємъ стоѣаиѣ	— Τῆς ἐν τόπῳ ἁγίῳ σου στάσεως	

Thus, the Slavic version of the Euchologion follows the sequence and contents of *Γ.β.1* from f. 128r, though the Saturday prayers are placed earlier on ff. 109r-109v.

10. The Prayers of the Censer and the Funeral Rites

In *Γ.β.1* two prayers of the censer are written one after the other, just before the funeral prayers. They are not mentioned in the table of contents in *Coisl.* 213, though the second one is present in the text: Σοὶ τῷ πεπληρωμένῳ. The first prayer is absent there, but is read in the order of lities of the Great Church, on folio 80r. A comparison of two Greek codices shows that the first prayer of the censer had two versions. The version in *Coisl.* 213 is shorter and older; the one in *Γ.β.1* and the Athens codex belongs to a version of the late twelfth century.²⁸ The Slavic version has two prayers

²⁸ S. Parenti – E. Velkovska, "A Thirteenth Century Manuscript of the Constantinopolitan

of the censer, given together, as mentioned in the table of contents in *Coisl.* 213. The text of the first prayer is written in the ancient version that differs from the version of *Г.β.1*. The Slavic Euchologion of the Great Church does not depend on any of the known Greek manuscripts. The placement of the prayer in its designed place puts the Slavic version closer to *Г.β.1*, but the archaic version of the text coincides with that of *Coisl.* 213.

The funeral prayers in the Slavic version are given in the following sequence:

Syn. 900	Coisl. 213	Г.β.1	Athens gr. 662
110v мѣтва на исходъ дѣши вѣдко гѣ вседержителю оче гѣ ба и спса нашего	110r	—	—
111г мѣтва кадилу над оусопшимъ сын прежде сын	88v	115r	191v
111v мѣтва над скончавшимся миряниномъ бѣ дѣвомъ и всако плоти	88v	115v	—
112г мѣтва инаа о томже бѣ бѣ нашъ сдѣтель и спстель всацьскихъ сѣдига	89r	—	192r
112v мѣтва инаа гѣ гѣ иже скорбѣщимъ прохладѣние и рыдающимъ оутѣшенне	89v	116r	—
113г мѣтва над преставльшимся сѣнникомъ благодаримъ та гѣ бѣ нашъ	89v	116r	—
114г мѣтва друкѣа томѣ(ж) иже жилище имѣѣи нѣбо	90r	—	193v
114v мѣтва инаа о скончани оусопшимъ ѿ тебе и къ тебѣ дѣове познавшихъ та	90v	117r	194v
114v мѣтва на скончание мѣднца Хранѣи младенца гѣ	90v	117r	—
115г мѣтва на скончание инока гѣ бѣ наш иже премѣдрѣстию своею създавыи ѿ земаѣ чѣка	91r	116v	—
115г мѣтва над гробомъ вѣгда вѣнваетъ миро и масло крѣтаобразно Помѣни гѣ бѣ	110r	117v	—

As is shown in the table, the Slavic Euchologion follows *Coisl.* 213 in the cited prayers, but their sequence is closer to that in *Г.β.1*, although there is not an exact coincidence.

11. Holy Communion and Penance (Confession)

In *Coisl.* 213 there are three prayers for Holy Communion on folio 84r-87r. In *Г.β.1* there is only one such prayer: Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ὁ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ καταβὰς ἄρτος. In the Slavic version as well as in the Athens codex, this prayer is presented not as a separate text, but within the rite of adoption on folio 127r.

As for Repentance or Confession, there are no complete rituals of this sacrament in the Greek codices, but only some prayers. The comparative table of the repentance prayers in the Greek manuscripts and in the Slavic version is as follows:

Syn. 900	Coisl. 213	Г.β.1	Athens gr. 662
89r мѣтва на гажѣ ѿ запрѣщенна разрѣшаемыхъ	116v	129r	176r
89v мѣтва о кающихъсѧ	116r	131r	178r
90r мѣтва о исповѣдающихъсѧ	115r	131r	178r
90v мѣтва еже о дерзостнѣ кленущихъсѧ	115v	131r	178v
90v мѣтва другаа о еже продержателнѣ кланящихся	—	—	179r
91r мѣтва о еже бесловеснѣ ѿ нѣкого ѿлученаго или словомъ самѣхъ себе связующихъ	—	—	179v
95r мѣтва о еже въ брашнѣ съблзгнвшихъсѧ	106r	131v	180r
95v мѣтва о еже скверно гдшихъ	106v	131v	180v

The table shows that the Slavic version follows the Athens codex, where the number of repentance prayers is greater than in *Coisl.* 213 and *Г.β.1*.

12. The Order of Coronation and Other Palace Rites

In the Slavic version of the *Euchologion* there are no rituals of betrothal and matrimony, perhaps, because they had been known in Slavic liturgical practice since ancient times. There is only the order of crowning, called “the Prayer for Enthroning the Tsar” (молитва въ провъзведеице црѣ; 185v). In the Greek version this rite is called εὐχή ἐπὶ προχειρίσει βασιλέως, which in *Coisl.* 213 is located among the Palace Rites, on folio 36r, and in *Г.β.1* is given after the matrimonial crowning. In the Slavic version, this ritual is located among the Palace Rites, and has the same rubrics and prayers as the Greek version. But the order εὐχή ἐπὶ προχειρίσει καίσαρος, νωβελισίμου καὶ κουροπαλάτου was omitted by the Slavic translator, as was also the εὐχή ἐπὶ προαγωγῇ ἀρχόντων ἥτοι πατρικίων. The copyist may have judged those texts irrelevant because of the absence of such titles and officials in the Russian state administration.

The prayer for harvesting the Tsar’s vines, confined to August 15 and pronounced in Blachernae (εὐχή γινομένη ὑπὸ τοῦ πατριάρχου ὅτε πρὸς συνήκειαν ἐπὶ τελειῇ τὴν τρύγην ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ τῇ 15 αὐγούστου ἐν Βλαχέρναις), is also present in the Slavic version, but placed in the block of agrarian prayers on folio 108r under the title мѣтва внѣгда брати виноградѣ.

The *Euchologion* of the Great Church contains several special prayers

that were pronounced exclusively by the Patriarch. Thus, in the Slavic version there is *мѣтва юже глѣтъ патрїархъ црїю въ четъвергъ по пасцѣ* (188r). In the Greek manuscripts it is *εὐχή γινομένη ὡσάκις ἔλθῃ ὁ πατριάρχης εἰς τὸν βασιλέα ἐξαιρέτως δὴ τῇ Ε' τῆς διακανησίμου*. The Patriarch also said the prayer for beginning the construction of a ship. In *Syn.* 900 on folio 86v it is named: *мѣтва ѿ сѣла внєгда ѿпѣсати къ плаванїю корабль*. In *Coisl.* 213 it is on folio 40v, and in *Г.β.Ι* on folio 127v. According to the Greek manuscripts, the prayer for travelers, *χοταψε сѣлю пѣтешествовати* (f. 172r), was pronounced ἐν τῷ μεγάλῳ σεκρέτῳ i.e., in the Great Chancellery of the Imperial Palace²⁹ (*Coisl.* 213, f. 39v, *Г.β.Ι*, f. 122r, but not found in *Athens gr.* 662). The Slavic translator, however, omitted that note.

An interesting feature of the Slavic version of the Euchologion is the fact that the prayer of the Patriarch for the Tsar and the prayer for the crowning were written twice in different parts of the codex. In the translation they received different titles, and there are also differences in the translation itself.³⁰ Thus, the prayer of the Patriarch for the Tsar on folio 172r is named: *мѣтва о князехъ и разлїчныхъ потрѣбахъ паче внєгда потрѣбѣ бывши ратномѹ времени на сѣпротївныа таже и въ четвергъ свѣтлыа недѣли*. It is the same prayer as on folio 188r, but the word βασιλεύς is translated not as tsar (царь), but as prince (князь). Also, on folio 194v there is the prayer *мѣтва блгвїтї црѣ и князѣ*, identical in text to the prayer *въ провъзведенїе црѣ* (185v). There are no such double versions in the Greek manuscripts. It is difficult to explain such phenomena in the Slavic version. Perhaps the absence of tsars in Russia of that epoch stimulated the translator to revise the title in the prayers for the sake of their adaptation to the Russian reality, where the Great Prince was then the supreme ruler of the country.

13. The Table Prayers

In the Slavic version of the Euchologion there are six prayers before and after meals, as is found in the Codex of Strategius. *Г.β.Ι* has five such prayers, and there is only one in the Athens codex³¹. The prayers are found as indicated in the table:

²⁹ М. Арранц, *Евхологиѹ Константинополя в начале XI в.*, 41.

³⁰ This was noted for the first time by Gorsky and Nevostruev, *Описание*, 146-147.

³¹ Π. Καλαϊτζίδης, "Τρία ΧΦΦ «Πατριαρχικά» εὐχολόγια Paris, Coislin 213, Grottaferrata G.b.I, Εθνικῆς Βιβλιοθηκῆς τῆς Ελλάδος 662. Ιστορικοκριτικὴ προσέγγιση," in Π. Σκαλτσῆ – Ν. Σκρέττα, ed., *Γηθόσυνον Σέβασμα. Αντίδωρον τιμῆς καὶ μνήμης εἰς τὸν μακαριστὸν καθηγητὴν τῆς Λειτουργικῆς Ἰωάννην Φουντούλην*, I, Θεσσαλονίκη 2013, 886.

Syn. 900	Coisl. 213	Г.β.1	Athens gr. 662
174r мѣтва предъ вѣкѹшеннемъ идѣже въ домѹ приг- днѣсѣ вкѹшати	98r	127r	—
174v мѣтва на трапезѣ	97v	126v	—
174v мѣтва на бѣгословенне дара трапезнаго	98r	126v	—
175r мѣтва по вѣзстаннѣ ѿ трапезы	98v	126v	—
175v мѣтва по шѣдѣваннѣ	98v	127	173r
176r мѣтва иная о томъ же	98 v	—	—

14. *The Prayers of the Agrarian Cycle*

In the Slavic version of the Euchologion there is a specific block of prayers connected with agriculture and wine production, as in the table below. In codex *Coisl.* 213 they are given together, whereas *Г.β.1* has them scattered in different parts of the manuscript. The Athens codex has no such prayers. In the Slavic version there are seven prayers for sowing and harvesting crops, located together as in *Coisl.* 213.

Syn. 900	Coisl. 213	Г.β.1
106r мѣтва вѣгда садити виноградъ	111r	137r
106v мѣтва на вкѹшенне грезда	112r	137v
107r мѣтва в началѣ сѣтвы	110v	118v
107v мѣтва зажинати	110v	119r
107v мѣтва другага	111r	—
108r мѣтва вѣгда брати виноградъ	112v	125v
108v мѣтва в началѣ браннѣ виннаго	111v	119r

The selection of these prayers is closer to that in the Codex of Strategius, but their sequence differs.

15. *The Monastic Rites*

The rite of taking of monastic vows is absent in the Slavic version, perhaps because here too, the translator of the Euchologion took only those texts that had not been known in Russia by that time. So in the Slavic version there are two rites for taking monastic vows, placed one after the other:

Folio 164v: Чинъ бываемыи о хотѣщемъ затворитисѣ по оуставомъ ꙗкоже в правилѣхъ пишется. This rite for those who wanted to live in reclusion is not found in any Greek manuscript of the Euchologion of the Great Church. But it is present in the Greek Euchologions Sin.gr. 957 and Sin.gr.

Syn. 900	Coisl. 213	Г.β.1	Athens gr. 662
174r мѣтва предъ вѣкушеннемъ идѣже въ дому приготи́тсѧ вѣшати	98r	127r	—
174v мѣтва на трапезѣ	97v	126v	—
174v мѣтва на бѣгословенне дара трапезнаго	98r	126v	—
175r мѣтва по вѣзстаннѣ ꙗко трапезы	98v	126v	—
175v мѣтва по ѡбѣдованнѣ	98v	127	173r
176r мѣтва иная о томъ же	98 v	—	—

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106v мѣтва на вѣкушенне грезда	112r	137v
107r мѣтва в началѣ сѣтвы	110v	118v
107v мѣтва зажинати	110v	119r
107v мѣтва другаѧ	111r	—
108r мѣтва вѣгда брати виноградъ	112v	125v
108v мѣтва в началѣ браннѧ виннаго	111v	119r

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Folio 164v: Чинъ бываемыи о хощащемъ затворитисѧ по оуставомъ ꙗкоже в правилѣхъ пишетьсѧ. This rite for those who wanted to live in reclusion is not found in any Greek manuscript of the Euchologion of the Great Church. But it is present in the Greek Euchologions Sin.gr. 957 and Sin.gr.

Syn. 900	Coisl. 213	Г.β.1	Athens gr. 662
174r мѣтва предъ вѣкѣшеннемъ нѣже въ дому приг- днѣсѣ вѣшатн	98r	127r	—
174v мѣтва на трапезѣ	97v	126v	—
174v мѣтва на бѣгословенне дара трапезнаго	98r	126v	—
175r мѣтва по вѣзстаннѣ трапезы	98v	126v	—
175v мѣтва по шѣдованнн	98v	127	173r
176r мѣтва ннаа о томже	98 v	—	—

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106r мѣтва внегода садити виноградъ	111r	137r
106v мѣтва на вѣшенне грезда	112r	137v
107r мѣтва в началѣ сѣтвы	110v	118v
107v мѣтва зажинати	110v	119r
107v мѣтва другаа	111r	—
108r мѣтва внегода брати виноградъ	112v	125v
108v мѣтва в началѣ браннн виннаго	111v	119r

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Folio 164v: Чинъ бываемын о хотѣщемъ затворитисѣ по оуставомъ такоже в правилѣхъ пишется. This rite for those who wanted to live in reclusion is not found in any Greek manuscript of the Euchologion of the Great Church. But it is present in the Greek Euchologions Sin.gr. 957 and Sin.gr.

982 (13th cent.).³² In the Slavic version of the rite there are some similarities with the text in Sin.gr. 982 in the arrangement of litanies and two prayers, but in general the rites are different. In the Slavic version there is a canon before the prayers, and the text of the second prayer is quite different:

Folio 182v: Чинъ бываемыи ѿ коемъ либо христолюбци иже добрымъ проїз-
волениемъ пришедшему гдѣ въ ѿвѣтель и просащемъ быти дѣхнымъ братомъ
тамъ сѣдимъ братиамъ въ тои ѿвѣтели. Such a rite for taking novice vows
is found only in the Athens codex, on folio 206r.³³ It is named τάξις γινομένη
ἐπὶ τινι φιλόχριστον προσελθόντα καὶ αἰτοῦντα γενέσθαι ἀδελφὸν ἐν τῇ μονῇ³⁴.
It is not found in other copies of the Euchologion.

16. *The Rite of Consecration of the Holy Oil and Prayers for the Sick*

In Syn. 900 on folio 243v there is the rite of Consecration of the Holy Oil (послѣдованіе сѣго масла ѿсѣаему сѣдмью поповъ). In addition, a bit earlier, on ff 99v-100v, Syn. 900 gives three other prayers from that rite, called мѣтва надъ болнымъ ѿче сѣтинъ врачу дѣшамъ и тѣломъ, мѣтва маслу надъ болнымъ многыи въ мѣстыни и бѣтыи въ бѣгсти и мѣтва инаа томѣжъ Гѣ иже въ мѣсти и щедротахъ твоихъ исцѣляа. It is noteworthy that Syn. 675 has only prayers, while the rite itself of Anointing the Sick is absent.

Coisl. 213 has on folio 107r the rite of Consecration of the Holy Oil, in which seven priests take part. The rite has abundant rubrics, which note that it took place at the Eucharistic Liturgy, after the proskomide. In Γ.β.Ι those rubrics are missing, and the codex gives only four prayers, on ff. 133v-134v. In the Athens codex the order of Consecration of the Holy Oil coincides with the Slavic translation,³⁵ where the Consecration of the Holy Oil is placed not during the Eucharistic liturgy, but in the evening or in the morning, together with the canon by St. Arsenius.

Thus, in the Slavic version, as well as in all Greek manuscripts, there are three prayers for Anointing the sick, all located together. But their order at the end of Syn. 900 puts the Slavic version closer to that of Athens gr. 662, where the order is similar to the modern one, and includes a vigil with Vespers and Orthros.³⁶

The prayers over the mentally ill are presented in the Slavic version of

³² А. А. Дмитриевский, *Описание*, II, 32, 239-241. I thank cordially my colleague Tinatin Chronz, who indicated to me these manuscripts.

³³ M. Arranz, "Les Sacrements," 320.

³⁴ Π. Καλαϊτζίδης, "Τρία ΧΦΦ «Πατριαρχικά» εὐχολόγια," 894.

³⁵ Slavic translations of the fourteenth century are also similar in structure to the Athens codex. See: T. Chronz, *Die Feier des Heiligen Öles nach Jerusalemer Ordnung*, Münster 2012, 390-393.

³⁶ М. Арранц, *Евхологий Константинополя в начале XI в.*, 47.

the Euchologion as in the following table, where it is clear that the variant coincides with Greek usage:

Syn. 900	Coisl. 213	Г.β.1	Athens gr. 662
96r мѣтва надъ обѣреваемыми ѿ дѣховъ нечистыхъ	117r	132r	181r
96v мѣтва дръга ѿ обѣреваемыхъ дѣхомъ нечистымъ	117r	132v	181v
97r мѣтва о оскорбѣемыхъ и обѣреваемыхъ дѣхомъ нечистымъ	117v	132v	182r
104v мѣтвы на помыслы скверны	115v	136v	187r
105v мѣтва о плачущихъ	115v	137r	187r

17. *The Brotherhood of the Blachernae Pool*

In *Coisl. 213* (198v) the Blachernae Pool rite begins after the 6th hour, and includes canticles and six prayers.³⁷ In the Pool rite in *Г.β.1* (f. 147r) the rite is somewhat abbreviated: it has only one prayer, without rubrics and canticles, but its title maintains the connection with Blachernae: εὐχή τοῦ κολύμβου τῶν βλαχερνῶν. The Slavic version has the same prayer as in *Г.β.1*, but its title has no mention of Blachernae. The Slavic translator had at hand a manuscript quite similar to *Г.β.1*, but in the process of his work he abandoned the toponym, which had no relevance for Russians, and gave the prayer this new, neutral title: мѣтва надъ водою потрѣбѣ всѣхъ конъ бывши въ разлчныхъ болѣзняхъ.

18. *Work of Patriarch Philotheos Kokkinos*

A distinctive feature of the Slavic version of the Euchologion of the Great Church is the prayer and the rite for the New Year attributed to Patriarch Philotheus I, both of which are absent in all Greek manuscripts of the Euchologion of the Great Church. That is understandable, for all those copies had been written before the Patriarchate of Philotheus. The Slavic translation witnesses to important revisions of the Euchologion of the Great Church under Philotheus.

The first added text is the prayer by Patriarch Philotheus for the Beginning of the Indiction found on folio 190r: мѣтва глѣмаа въ началѣ индикта си мѣтва творенне Филофеа сѣнишаго патрнарха константина града. There are serious reasons for supposing that Philotheus composed this prayer in the first year of his second Patriarchate, because in the year 1363 the new 458th Indiction began. The second text, on folio 295r, includes the rite

³⁷ Ibid. 54.

for the Beginning of the Indiction, comprising a public service with verses and antiphons celebrated outside the church and concluded with the same prayer of Patriarch Philotheus mentioned above.

THE GREEK PROTOTYPE OF THE SLAVIC TRANSLATION

What Greek text was at the disposal of the Slavic translator and what was its relation to the extant Greek copies of the Euchologion of the Great Church? What can we say about that based on the data of the Slavic translation? To facilitate the description, let us mark the Greek prototype of the Slavic translation with the sigla Ω.

1. Codex Ω opens with a table of contents, and does not contain Eucharistic liturgies. In this aspect it is closest to the Codex of Strategius (AD 1027).

2. The Order of day services (ἁσματικὴ ἀκολουθία) as presented in Ω was revised and divided into two parts. The first part, coinciding with monastic Vespers and the Orthros, was placed in the beginning of the codex, whereas the rest of the Order of day services: Vespers and Orthros, the Panychis, the Midnight Service and Little Hours, were located in another part of the codex. In this, Ω reflects the revision of the ἁσματικὴ ἀκολουθία under the influence of the monastic traditions that took place in Constantinople in the late fourteenth century. Like the Codex of Strategius, Ω does not contain the τριτοέκτη. In the Athens codex that monastic influence is seen in some parts only: Vespers were revised, but Orthros was not touched by the revision, and the other services of the daily cycle services were omitted from the codex.

3. Special rites of the Great Church, such as the Washing of Feet on Great (Holy) Thursday, the Catechumenate ritual on Great (Good) Friday, and Baptism on Great (Holy) Saturday, were in Ω augmented with detailed rubrics, following in this the Codex of Strategius. The rites of the Consecration of a Church and of the Trapeza or altar table, and the lities celebrated in various places in Constantinople, were also closely similar to those in *Coisl.* 213, but in some cases the ancient rites were abbreviated. The same can be said about the table prayers, and the prayers of the agrarian cycle and wine production: the selection of such prayers in Ω is similar to that in *Coisl.* 213 and differs from the other codices. The choice of the prayers for the censer and funeral services was also like that of *Coisl.* 213, but their sequence in Ω was somewhat changed.

4. The rites of submitting to Orthodoxy in Ω are close to *Coisl.* 213 in their choice and sequence, and more numerous than those in codices Γ.β.1

and *Athens gr.* 662. But not all services from *Coisl.* 213 were included in the Slavic translation.

5. The prayers for the consecration of the Pool in Blachernae were almost completely omitted in Ω : as in *\Gamma.\beta.I*, only one of the prayers remains. *\Gamma.\beta.I* and Ω are close also in the included prayers behind the ambon.

6. As for the prayers for Holy Communion, Penance or Confession, the rite of the Anointing, and the monastic services, Ω reflects some revisions in the liturgical practice, and is closest to *Athens gr.* 662 above all, though the influence of the monastic services on the cathedral ones is seen more clearly in Ω than in the Athens codex. For instance, the rite for a recluse appears there.

7. In some cases, the Slavic translation is very important for the reconstruction of ancient Constantinople services lost in the Codex of Strategius because of some lacunae, but preserved in Ω . For instance, the Slavic translation allows us to reconstruct detailed rubrics explaining how to celebrate the Washing of the Feet on Great (Holy) Thursday, texts lost in *Coisl.* 213 and absent in other Greek copies.

8. There were services and prayers composed by Patriarch Philotheus Kokkinos in Ω . This may mean that the Euchologion of the Great Church was revised under Philotheus or soon after his death. The role of that Patriarch in the reform and codification of liturgical practice can hardly be overestimated: he was the most significant figure of the Palaiologan epoch. In 1386, Dimitrios Gemistos, protonotary of Hagia Sophia, composed new Rules for the Patriarchal Service of the Liturgy based on the Diataxis of Patriarch Philotheus.³⁸ At the same time, and perhaps the same Dimitrios Gemistos, compiled a new redaction of the Euchologion of the Great Church with several revisions of the rites of the day services, some new rituals in the section about the taking of monastic vows, and including the rite for the Beginning of the Indiction by Philotheus. It was from that version that the Slavic translation was done in the early fifteenth century, and until now that translation has preserved the redaction of the Euchologion created in the late fourteenth century.

The Slavic Translator-Compiler and His Work with the Greek Prototype

The Slavic translator did not set for himself the task of making a complete translation of the Euchologion. Rather, it is obvious that he proposed to compile a book collecting from the Euchologies all Byzantine liturgical

³⁸ A. Jacob, *Histoire du formulaire grec de la liturgie de Saint Jean Chrysostome*, unpublished dissertation, Louvain 1968, 443-445.

services unknown or less widely disseminated in Russia.³⁹ It was in fact but a selection of articles from the Euchologion anthology. The Slavic translator did not translate from that anthology the orders of Baptism, Matrimony, and funerals, nor the orders of Genuflection at Pentecost or the Great Blessing of the Waters — i.e. those rites that had already been widespread and were available in many Slavic Books of Needs of the eleventh-to-fourteenth centuries.⁴⁰ He translated, rather, the rites of the Great Church connected with Great (Holy) Week, the palace rites, the foundation and consecration of a church, the lities for different locations in Constantinople, and prayers for various needs. Some of the services translated for that Euchologion had already been used by Slavs: the ordination of a hegumenos, the services for the foundation of a church and for the ablution of the altar table or trapeza, and the rite of anointing the sick. But they were not numerous.

It seems, in some cases, that the translator omitted on purpose some services that were alien and not relevant for the Russian Church and princely court services. Such were the rite for the selection of a caesar, of a novelissimus, of a kuropalat, and of archons. Such services were found in all Greek Euchologions of the Great Church; obviously, they were also in Ω.

The translator often rejected from the Slavic version some typically Constantinople elements and toponyms obviously unnecessary in Moscow. For instance, the prayer for harvesting the imperial vines in Blachernae on August 15, and the prayer for the Consecration of the Pool in Blachernae. Named in Γ.β.Ι εὐχή τοῦ κολύμβου τῶν βλαχερνῶν, they are given in the Slavic translation without toponyms, and relocated to other parts of the codex. The toponym ἐν τῷ τοῦ τριβουναλίου was not translated, and the lity on the day of the foundation of Constantinople on May 11 was omitted. But the translator succeeded in finding an analogue for the Greek forum (εὐχή ἐν τῷ φόρῳ), which he translated as “a vast space” (пространное мѣсто).

The rite of Crowning the Emperor and the prayer of the Patriarch for the Emperor were translated into Slavic twice. In one case, the Greek word βασιλεύς was translated as Tsar (царь), keeping his Byzantine status. In another case, the word βασιλεύς was adapted to the Russian historical reality and translated as Prince (князь).

Working on the Slavic version, the translator had to use many Grecisms, and to add glosses for elements linked to Byzantine realities unknown or

³⁹ That idea was expressed by M. Arranz. See: *Евхологий Константинополя*, 8, note 1.

⁴⁰ According to our observations, the oldest Slavic Service Books of the eleventh-fourteenth centuries usually contain orders and prayers necessary for everyday life: Baptism, Confession, wedding and funeral texts, as well as various prayers for sick persons. There were also special monastic Books of Needs, the so called Postrigal'niki, with various rituals for taking monastic vows.

alien to Russia. The translator commented only on rubrics, because it is mostly there that names particular to Byzantine liturgical objects and palace details were mentioned. Vast glosses can be found throughout the whole text, and they need further study and description. The translator thoroughly interpreted all orders and prayers of interest to him, and created a vast collection of texts from the Byzantine Euchologion for Russia, which would comprise a singular encyclopedia of actual Greek liturgical texts.

Thus, the completed research on the contents of the Synodal Book of Rites *Syn. 900 v* in its comparison with three Greek copies of the Euchologion of the Great Church allows us to draw the following general conclusions.

The Slavic version of the Euchologion of the Great Church is a sound testimony to the no longer preserved Greek text of the Euchologion of the Great Church in its late fifteenth century redaction — the latest redaction of the Patriarchal Book of Needs of the Byzantine capital. That redaction was made, in our opinion, at the time of Patriarch Philotheus or just after his death. It is known that after the liberation of Constantinople from the Latin yoke, work for the restoration of Orthodox services began immediately. Hagiopolite (Jerusalem) Rules were introduced in the monasteries of Constantinople, and in Hagia Sophia liturgical practice was revised. For instance, according the edict of Patriarch Arsenius (AD 1255-1260, 1261-1266) they inserted the singing of "Tsar's" Psalm, i.e. Psalm 20, at the beginning of Orthros, as was customary in the monastic tradition. Monastic liturgical practice completely displaced in Constantinople the proper system of services of the day order and its structural elements that had characterized the ancient cathedral services of Byzantium.⁴¹ In its place was introduced into Constantinopolitan liturgical practice the Order of the Heavenly Liturgy composed by Patriarch Philotheus Kokkinos in the days when he was hegumenos of the Great Lavra on Mt. Athos. A new version of the Imperial rites was thus created, and the book *De Ceremoniis* (*On the Rites of the Palace*) edited.⁴² The Patriarch's rituals were also revised. It was the Protonotary of the Great Church Dimitrios Gemistos who thus edited the Patriarch's liturgy and compiled its new Rules, which included the rites of consecrations. As the basis of those Rules he took the *Diataxis* of Philotheus Kokkinos.⁴³

⁴¹ A. М. Пентковский, "Византийское богослужение," *Православная энциклопедия* 8 (2004) 386-388.

⁴² A. Grabar, "Pseudo-Codinos et les cérémonies de la cour byzantine au XIV^e siècle," *Art et société à Byzance sous les Paléologues*, Venise 1971, 193-221.

⁴³ A. Rentel, "The Origins of the 14th Century Patriarchal Liturgical Diataxis of Dimitrios Gemistos," *OCP* 71 (2005) 363-385.

We may suppose, that some additions were introduced into the Patriarch's *Euchologion* under Dimitrios Gemistos: specifically, the rite for the New Year with the prayer by Philotheus, and also some monastic services. In the new version the Order of Daily Services was revised, and ancient parts of Vespers and Orthros, with the Patriarchal rites of Great (Holy) Week, were removed to another part of the codex. In the process of editing, however, the revisers did not reject ancient rites that had almost fallen into disuse at that time, like the ancient rite for crowning tsars (without their anointing for tsardom). Also preserved were all palace rites, and various prayers for agrarian needs, illness, table ceremonies, and journies.

M. Arranz considered the Codex Bessarionis (manuscript Γ.β.1) as the most representative copy of the Euchologion of the Great Church, and made it the basis of his reconstruction of the Patriarch's Euchologion of the post-iconoclastic period. The revision of the date of Γ.β.1 to the thirteenth century testifies to the secondary position of this manuscript in comparison with the Codex of Strategius (*Coisl.* 213). Let us recall that A.A. Dmitrievsky, the first one to discover and thoroughly describe that manuscript, thought "the Paris Euchologion 213 should by rights take second place among the known euchologies after the Barberini Euchologion of the eighth century, because it is in all respects superior to the well-known eleventh-century Codex Bessarionis" of the Crypto-Ferrata Library. On this we share the opinion of A. A. Dmitrievsky,⁴⁴ and consider the manuscript *Coisl.* 213 as the euchologion compendium created for the sake of the codification of all services and rituals of the Byzantine capital. The copies from Grottaferrata and Athens were copies from the Patriarch's Euchologion made in the Palaiologan epoch in different regions of the Byzantine Empire. In these copies one can observe a simplification of some services and the rejection from liturgical use of some rites. Codex Ω, we believe, is the result of a purposeful revision of the Patriarch's Euchologion made in Constantinople in the late fourteenth century.

The Slavic manuscripts Syn. 900 and Syn. 675 were the closest copies of the original translation. Syn. 900, written with traditional Russian orthography, seems to be the older copy, Syn. 675 the more recent one, though this question cannot be considered decided for certain. There are some services in Syn. 675 that are located at the end of codex Syn. 900: e.g., the rites of Consecration of the Holy Oil, for the Beginning of the Indiction, for the renovation of a church, and the prayer "for releasing a spiritual child." Let us recall that prayers of the first three rites are presented in both codices as separate texts. So in Syn. 900 the order for the New Year is

⁴⁴ А. А. Дмитриевский, *Описание*, II, VII.

written twice. The first time there is only the prayer by Philotheus; in the second case there is a complete ritual, including the prayer by Philotheus. The same situation is found with the rite of anointing the sick. In Syn. 900, on ff. 99v-100v there are prayers over the sick that were included in the order of anointing; and on folio 243v there is the order of consecration of the Holy Oil by seven priests, where the same prayers are read again. Was it thus in the Greek prototype? Perhaps further investigation of the Slavic version will enable us to answer many such questions that will arise in the course of future research.

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SUMMARY

The article examines the composition of the Slavo-Russian Euchologion of the Great Church according to the State Historical Museum (Moscow) manuscript Syn. 900 in comparison with three Greek copies of this work. These were introduced by Miguel Arranz (Paris, *Coisl.* 213, *Crypt.* Γ.β.I. and *Athens* 662). It may be concluded that the Slavo-Russian version, created at the turn of the XIV-XV centuries, serves as evidence for the existence of a new edition of the Euchologion of the Great Church, which was most likely completed under Patriarch Philotheus. This version of the Euchologion preserved many unique features of the oldest Greek copy, *Coisl.* 213 of 1027. In this way, it preserved, more than other Greek copies of the patriarchal prayer books, the rites of Holy Week performed in the Great church as well as *lities* for different places in Constantinople, and prayers for various needs. In addition, it also included a number of new rites and prayers for monastic tonsure, communion and repentance, as well as it had an inserted Ecclesiastical New Year's prayer of Patriarch Philotheus. The structure of the ἁσματικὴ ἀκολουθία went through serious changes: it was rearranged and broken up into two parts. The Slavonic scribe translated only some services that were in the Greek codex, that is only those that were previously unknown or not very well known in Rus'. When translating the Constantinople rites, the Russian scribe left out all of the toponyms, which, as the author of this article thinks, shows his attempt to adapt these services to the Russian situation.

Georges Ruyssen, S.J.

La Santa Sede e il genocidio armeno del 1915¹

*In memoriam Jean Balian, S.J. († 1915)
e Pierre Aghadjanian, S.J. († 1916)*

1. Introduzione

Se esiste un'immensa bibliografia sul genocidio armeno — basta cliccare su internet —, invece, come nota il Prof. Andrea Riccardi nel suo splendido saggio *Benedetto XV e la crisi nella convivenza multireligiosa nell'Impero ottomano*, “non esiste una ricostruzione dell'atteggiamento della Santa Sede”². Pertanto, le fonti vaticane sono una testimonianza di primo ordine, “quanto inesplorata”³, di quel che è accaduto ai cristiani nell'Impero ottomano. Tuttavia, dal 2013 in poi sono stati pubblicati da noi alcuni volumi intitolati *La Questione Armena*⁴. Il nostro scopo è appunto quello di rendere le fonti archivistiche vaticane accessibili ai ricercatori per uno studio sereno della tematica tanto complessa del “Grande Male”, come chiamano gli armeni stessi il genocidio del 1915. Tale complessità non è solo dovuta alla comprensione meramente storico-politica dei fatti, ma viene ulteriormente accresciuta dalle emozioni e passioni che tale vicenda suscita, e che molto spesso impediscono di parlare in modo sereno del genocidio armeno. Nel suo stesso saggio del 1990, Andrea Riccardi afferma: “Il vero ruolo della Santa Sede e del papa nella vicenda non è stato finora ricostitui-

¹ Questo articolo è una rielaborazione di due conferenze tenute su questa tematica: la prima a *La Civiltà Cattolica* il 17 gennaio 2015 e la seconda al Pontificio Istituto Orientale il 12 marzo 2015.

² A. RICCARDI, «Benedetto XV e la crisi della convivenza multireligiosa nell'Impero ottomano», in *Benedetto XV e la pace – 1918*, G. RUMI (a cura di), Brescia 1990, 90.

³ Id., 86.

⁴ Ormai sono usciti i seguenti cinque volumi : G.H. RUYSEN (a cura di), *La Questione Armena*, I, 1894-1896. *Documenti dell'Archivio Segreto Vaticano (ASV)*, Roma 2013, pp. 686; II, 1894-1896. *Documenti dell'Archivio della Congregazione per le Chiese Orientali (ACO)*, Roma 2013, pp. 352; III, 1908-1925. *Documenti dell'Archivio della Congregazione per le Chiese Orientali (ACO)*, Roma 2014, pp. 678; IV, 1908-1925. *Documenti dell'Archivio Segreto Vaticano (ASV) & dell'Archivio Storico della Segreteria di Stato, Sezione per i Rapporti con gli Stati*, Roma 2015, pp. 631; V, 1908-1925. *Documenti dell'Archivio Segreto Vaticano (ASV) & dell'Archivio Storico della Segreteria di Stato, Sezione per i Rapporti con gli Stati*, Roma 2015, pp. 560. Sono progettati altri due volumi.

to, anche per carenza di documentazione. La Santa Sede appare piuttosto sullo sfondo nelle raccolte documentarie finora pubblicate e si nota il suo ruolo caritativo... Ma quale fu l'atteggiamento di papa Benedetto XV di fronte a questa crisi della convivenza tra cristiani e musulmani nell'Impero ottomano?"⁵. Si spera che con i volumi de *La Questione Armena* tale ricostruzione storica del ruolo della Santa Sede e dei Papi Benedetto XV e Pio XI⁶ sia resa più facile e che accanto all'impegno umanitario della Santa Sede possa emergere la sua azione diplomatica per tutelare i diritti delle minoranze cristiane nell'Impero ottomano e nello Stato turco.

È certo, che in queste pagine si può soltanto fare una piccolissima ricostruzione del ruolo della Santa Sede e dei Papi nello svolgimento della questione armena. A motivo del centenario del genocidio del 1915, ci soffermiamo soltanto sul periodo iniziale del "Grande Male", fino al primo autografo di Papa Benedetto XV al Sultano ottomano del 10 settembre 1915 incluso. Quindi dobbiamo tralasciare numerosi altri fatti: i massacri armeni degli anni 1894-1896⁷, i massacri di Adana del 1909, gli eventi che sconvolsero la nazione armena dopo l'evacuazione delle truppe francesi dalla Cilicia nel 1922, o quelli che sconvolsero il Caucaso rioccupato nel 1918 dai turchi dopo il ritiro delle truppe russe in seguito alla pace di Brest-Litovsk. Un'altra tematica molto interessante da approfondire sarebbe senza dubbio l'appoggio e l'impegno della Santa Sede per la creazione di un'Armenia autonoma e libera⁸.

2. *Quadro generale dell'Impero ottomano alla vigilia della Prima Guerra mondiale*⁹

La Prima Guerra mondiale segna l'eclissi di un mondo e in particolare della presenza occidentale ed europea nell'Impero ottomano. Prima vi era

⁵ A. RICCARDI, «Benedetto XV e la crisi della convivenza multireligiosa nell'Impero ottomano», 94.

⁶ Se ufficialmente i volumi de *La Questione Armena* coprono il periodo che va dal 1894 fino al 1925, l'ultimo e settimo volume progettato raccoglierà anche documenti fino al 1928 incluso, chiudendo la raccolta con il trasferimento del Patriarcato armeno cattolico da Costantinopoli a Bzommar (Libano) e con il ricorso dell'Episcopato armeno cattolico presso la Società delle Nazioni a motivo delle violazioni sistematiche da parte della Turchia degli articoli sulle minoranze del Trattato di Losanna del 1923.

⁷ Intanto si veda G.H. RUYSSSEN, *La Santa Sede e i massacri degli armeni, 1894-1896*, Roma 2012, 274 p. e ID., «Une médiation pontificale: Léon XIII et les massacres arméniens dans l'Empire ottoman des années 1894-1896», in *OCP* 77 (2011) 153-168.

⁸ Su questa tematica si veda M. CAROLLA, *La Santa Sede e la questione armena (1918-1922)*, Milano 2006.

⁹ Per tracciare a grosse pennellate questo quadro generale dell'Impero ottomano alla vigilia della Prima Guerra mondiale siamo tributari di A. RICCARDI, «Benedetto XV e la crisi della convivenza multireligiosa nell'Impero ottomano», 85-87. Si veda anche l'articolo di G. DEL

stata la presenza dei missionari, sia cattolici sia protestanti, che avevano tessuto un'impressionante rete educativa e caritativa; in seguito ci fu l'azione delle Potenze europee (Francia, Inghilterra, Russia, Germania, Italia), i cui interessi religiosi ben spesso si intersecavano con interessi geopolitici ed economici (concessioni ferroviarie ed altro). La Francia proteggeva ufficialmente gli interessi dei cattolici, la Russia degli ortodossi, la Gran Bretagna e gli Stati Uniti dei protestanti e degli ebrei. Gli interessi armeni erano tutelati un po' da tutte le Potenze. Molto spesso le minoranze cristiane furono attraversate da correnti nazionalistiche a modello europeo — cioè coltivarono il sogno di ritagliarsi dal territorio dell'Impero ottomano un proprio stato nazionale —, anche se, in paragone con le comunità ortodosse soprattutto greche e armene¹⁰, le comunità cattoliche sia orientali sia latine, sempre minoritarie, erano molto meno inclini al nazionalismo e alla violenza. La reazione alle pressioni delle Potenze europee e ai nazionalismi centrifughi fu rappresentata dal movimento nazionalistico dei *Giovani Turchi*¹¹ che sviluppò il panturchismo, rafforzando l'identità turca e la rinascita ottomana ("la Turchia per i turchi")¹². Ovviamente la presenza multinazionale delle minoranze cristiane (armene, caldee, maronite, melchite, sire etc.) impediva tale integrazione turca, giacché le élite politiche, socio-economiche e intellettuali di queste minoranze, educate dai missionari, erano tradizionalmente filo-occidentali. Tutto questo fa sì che alla vigilia della Guerra il tessuto secolare di convivenza fra musulmani e cristiani nell'Impero ottomano entri in profonda crisi. Con l'inizio della Guerra nel 1914, la Francia e i suoi alleati scompaiono dal palcoscenico ottomano. Davanti al movimentato travaglio di tutto il mondo balcanico, russo e orientale, la Santa Sede si è trovata da sola a gestire gli interessi cattolici, non potendo più appoggiarsi sul protettorato tradizionale della Francia, dell'Italia¹³ e dell'Austria-Ungheria¹⁴. In generale la Santa Sede non aveva un disegno po-

ZANNA, «Benedetto XV e la Questione armena», in *Benedetto XV, Profeta di Pace in un mondo di crisi*, L. MAURO (a cura di), Bologna 2008, 125 e.s.

¹⁰ Basta pensare ai famosi comitati rivoluzionari armeni gregoriani responsabili del primo atto terroristico nella storia moderna, cioè l'assalto con la dinamite della Banca ottomana a Costantinopoli il 26 agosto 1896.

¹¹ *Giovani Turchi*: ufficialmente chiamato *Comitato dell'Unione e Progresso*, movimento politico della fine del XIX secolo (prima *Giovani Ottomani*) affermatosi nell'Impero ottomano con lo scopo di trasformare l'Impero, allora autocratico e inefficiente, secondo obiettivi liberali e costituzionali.

¹² Cf. G. DEL ZANNA, «Benedetto XV e la Questione armena», 130, che parla "di processo di turchizzazione della società ottomana che comportò una revisione profonda dei rapporti con le minoranze non-turche, a cominciare dagli armeni".

¹³ Cf. A. RICCARDI, *Mediterraneo – Cristianesimo e Islam tra coabitazione e conflitto*, Milano 1997, 101-105.

¹⁴ Cf. S. SIDAROISS, *Des patriarchats. Les patriarchats dans l'Empire ottoman et spécialement en Égypte*, Paris 1907, 121-133.

litico, ma i suoi interventi in quegli anni di Guerra perseguivano uno scopo puramente umanitario, cioè proteggere i cristiani perseguitati, fermare o almeno moderare la persecuzione, mandare dei soccorsi e del vettovagliamento e in fine consolidare la presenza delle Chiese cattoliche in Oriente. Non è un caso che, appunto, nel 1917 furono fondati da Papa Benedetto XV la Congregazione per la Chiesa orientale (come si chiamava allora) e il Pontificio Istituto Orientale.

Prima di lasciar parlare i documenti d'archivio, ricordiamo che durante la Guerra e più particolarmente negli anni 1915-1916, trovarono la morte nei massacri o nelle deportazioni circa due milioni di cristiani, per la maggioranza armeni, ma non solo: anche assiri, caldei, maroniti e siri furono perseguitati. Basta pensare alla persecuzione delle élite maronite in Libano e in Siria, vittime di una strategia politica orchestrata per ridurle alla fame, o ai massacri degli assiri e dei caldei a Salmas e Ourmiah (Mesopotamia). La conseguenza è che intere regioni, soprattutto in Anatolia, furono completamente svuotate dai cristiani. In questo immenso Impero la Santa Sede aveva una Delegazione apostolica — quindi senza nessuno statuto diplomatico — a Costantinopoli (Mons. Angelo Maria Dolci¹⁵), un'altra in Siria-Libano (Mons. Frediano Giannini¹⁶) e una terza in Mesopotamia (Mons. Emile Sontag che verrà massacrato nel 1918¹⁷). La Santa Sede sostituirà la Francia con l'Austria-Ungheria e la Germania, e agirà anche tramite i Nunzi a Vienna e a Monaco di Baviera (tra cui da aprile 1917 in poi il giovane Mons. Eugenio Pacelli).

3. *L'inizio del genocidio armeno del 1915 raccontato dai documenti d'archivio vaticani*¹⁸

Il 31 gennaio 1915 il Delegato apostolico Dolci poteva ancora scrivere al Cardinale Gasparri¹⁹, Segretario di Stato:

¹⁵ Dolci, Angelo Maria: Arcivescovo titolare di Gerapoli, Delegato apostolico a Costantinopoli dal 13 novembre 1914 fino al 14 dicembre 1922, quando fu nominato Nunzio apostolico a Bruxelles, anche se in seguito a sopraggiunte difficoltà non gli fu possibile raggiungere la nuova sede. Dal 30 maggio 1923 in poi fu Nunzio apostolico a Bucarest fino al 1933.

¹⁶ Giannini, Frediano: Francescano, Vicario apostolico di Aleppo, Delegato apostolico in Siria dal 20 gennaio 1905 fino a febbraio 1936.

¹⁷ Sontag, Jacques-Emile: Lazzarista, Arcivescovo latino di Ispahan, Delegato apostolico in Persia dal 13 luglio 1910 fino al suo martirio, il 27 luglio 1918.

¹⁸ Una buona ricostruzione si trova anche nei tre saggi già indicati: A. RICCARDI, «Benedetto XV e la crisi della convivenza multireligiosa nell'Impero ottomano»; Id., *Mediterraneo - Cristianesimo e Islam tra coabitazione e conflitto* e G. DEL ZANNA, «Benedetto XV e la Questione armena».

¹⁹ Gasparri, Pietro: Cardinale, Segretario di Stato dal 31 ottobre 1914 fino al 7 febbraio

Qui siamo isolati completamente dall'Europa. [...] si gode una certa tranquillità religiosa in Costantinopoli. Dell'interno dell'Impero non si sa nulla²⁰.

Sappiamo che la data ufficiale dell'inizio del genocidio armeno è il 24 aprile 1915, visto che è sempre il 24 aprile che viene ricordato l'anniversario del "Grande Male". In quel giorno un gruppo da 300 a 400 armeni di Costantinopoli, maggiormente gregoriani (= armeni ortodossi), venivano arrestati e deportati nell'interno dell'Impero. In un rapporto del 27 aprile 1915 appare un breve cenno di Mons. Dolci a quest'evento:

In questo giorno il Governo ottomano, facendo quasi un colpo di stato, ha preso e internato nell'Impero asiatico 400 armeni scismatici abitanti questa capitale, accusati di cospirazione politica di cui sino ad oggi s'ignora il carattere, se sia cioè nazionalista, ovvero contro il regime vigente. Tra i cattolici armeni, che sono pochissimi, 5 o 6 [...] ²¹.

Essendo isolato dall'interno dell'Impero, Mons. Dolci non ebbe notizie particolari sui massacri, e nel giugno 1915 riteneva ancora che si trattasse di una repressione di una rivolta armena a tenore nazionalistico:

La cospirazione degli armeni contro l'integrità territoriale dell'Impero ottomano per rivendicare la propria nazionalità, cospirazione sempre temuta dal Governo, ha esploso nel Vilayet di Van (Armenia), ove con una bomba è stato fatto saltare il palazzo del Governatore e si è proclamato Governatore un armeno di nazionalità russa. L'insurrezione ha già guadagnato l'altro Vilayet limitrofo ed ha avuto ripercussione in altri punti dell'Impero ma con casi isolati. Il Governo è intanto furibondo contro tutti gli armeni, però la grandissima maggioranza degli insorti è scismatica, sebbene vi siano purtroppo fra essi anche alcuni cattolici. Fortunatamente se ne contano fra i venti appiccati, giorni or sono, a Stambul dinanzi al Ministero della Guerra e gli altri ventisei in Adana. Si teme però che l'Autorità turca ordini un massacro generale degli armeni²².

In quel momento Mons. Dolci era ancora convinto che le deportazioni non fossero che una reazione turca contro le agitazioni nazionalistiche dei

1930.

²⁰ 31 gennaio 1915 – Rapporto del Delegato apostolico Dolci alla Segreteria di Stato – SS.RR.SS., AA.EE.SS., Austria-Ungheria (Turchia), III periodo 1913-1915, pos. 1055 fasc. 448, n° 5463, 22.

²¹ 27 aprile 1915 - Rapporto del Delegato apostolico Dolci al Cardinale Gasparri, Segretario di Stato - SS.RR.SS., AA.EE.SS., Austria-Ungheria (Turchia), III periodo 1915-1916, pos. 1069, fasc. 462, n° 6962, 2rv.

²² 27 giugno 1915 – Rapporto del Delegato apostolico Dolci al Cardinale Gotti, Prefetto della Congregazione di Propaganda Fide – ACO, Armeni del Patriarcato 1891-1926, rubr. n° 105, 3, n° 36698.

gregoriani, anche se potevano dar luogo a un massacro generale analogo ai massacri degli anni 1894-1896. Allo scopo di proteggere gli armeni cattolici, Mons. Dolci inviò a fine giugno 1915 una nota al Gran Vizir per chiedergli di distinguere gli armeni cattolici dagli armeni gregoriani e di fare cessare la deportazione dei cattolici lasciandoli ritornare nei loro paesi²³.

Tuttavia il 17 luglio 1915, quando ormai le persecuzioni erano ben avviate, Mons. Dolci mandò un telegramma alla Segreteria di Stato:

Giungono sicure notizie che centinaia di armeni, tra cui molte famiglie cattoliche, si sottraggono alla persecuzione facendosi musulmani. Voci di massacri vere o sparse ad arte accentuano questo movimento. Azione Ambasciatori due potenze alleate [cioè Austria-Ungheria e Germania] inefficacissima. Segue rapporto²⁴.

Nel suo rapporto del 29 luglio 1915 Mons. Dolci confermò tale triste notizia avendo ricevuto da varie fonti ampie descrizioni dei massacri e delle deportazioni di armeni senza distinzione. Una di queste fonti è la lettera del Cappuccino Michele Liebl che scriveva da Samsun sul Mar Nero.

Di fatti in quella stessa notte [cioè il 23 giugno 1915] si procedette ad arresti in massa; il dì seguente si leggeva su tutti i muri, un ordine, che dava agli armeni 5 giorni di tempo, per regolare i loro affari e mettersi nelle mani del governo, uomini, donne, fanciulli, ammalati, decrepiti, sacerdoti e suore cattoliche, senza eccezione, per essere internati, in luogo ignoto. Un cordone militare impediva ogni comunicazione col loro quartiere. L'indomani già cominciava la deportazione. [...] Voci di massacri, vere o sparse ad arte, accentuano questo movimento. Le donne sono quelle che resistono di più. S.E. capirà che non posso entrare in dettagli né emettere apprezzazioni implorando il suo aiuto, quello della Santa Sede, delle potenze alleate alla Turchia²⁵.

²³ Giugno 1915 – Biglietto del Delegato apostolico Dolci al Gran Vizir – ASV, Arch. Deleg. Turchia, busta 101, fasc. 527, senza protocollo, 13.

Constantinople, juin 1915

Altesse,

Comme les arméniens catholiques ont de tout temps donné des preuves manifestes de leur fidélité et de leur attachement à l'Empire ottoman, je demande à Votre Altesse qu'Elle veuille bien transmettre les ordres nécessaires afin que leur déportation ultérieure cesse et qu'ils puissent, sinon être réintégrés dans leurs foyers, du moins de se fixer là où ils se trouvent actuellement. Cette faveur à l'égard des arméniens catholiques sera, Altesse, très agréable au Saint Sièges.

²⁴ 17 luglio 1915 – Telegramma del Delegato apostolico Dolci al Cardinale Gasparri, Segretario di Stato – SS.RR.SS., AA.EE.SS., Austria-Ungheria (Turchia), III periodo, 1915-1916, pos. 1069, fasc. 462, n° 8102, 3.

²⁵ 30 giugno 1915 – Lettera del Cappuccino Michele Liebl (da Capodistria), Missionario austriaco a Samsun, al Delegato apostolico Dolci allegata al Rapporto del Delegato apostolico

Mons. Dolci tenterà di intervenire presso il Governo ottomano.

Da parte mia non ho mancato di interessare il Governo. Purtroppo però ogni azione riesce sommamente difficile, perché il Gran Vizir, Ministro degli Esteri, non ha nessuna influenza sul Gabinetto e gli altri Ministri, pieni di uno smisurato chauvinisme, danno assoluti poteri alle autorità locali dell'interno con istruzioni severe, e quando i loro propri ordini non sono eseguiti protestano di esserne inconsapevoli. Da ciò V.E. può comprendere quale sia lo stato in cui versano le povere popolazioni non-musulmane dell'Asia. Le potenze cristiane avrebbero il dovere d'intervenire. Ma purtroppo la maggior parte di esse sta in guerra con la Turchia, e l'azione delle alleate è, come ho detto nel telegramma, inefficacissima. Tuttavia ho continuamente insistito al riguardo presso gli Ambasciatori di Austria e di Germania [...]²⁶

Dalla frammentarietà delle notizie — si potrebbero citare a lungo tanti altri documenti — emerge la prova di un disegno da parte del Governo ottomano. Tale piano di deportazione viene molto accuratamente descritto da un altro Cappuccino, Padre Norberto Hofer.

La parola "deportazione" significa: 1) la separazione assoluta dei mariti dalle loro mogli, e delle madri dei loro fanciulli; 2) minacce e lusinghe di emissari turchi, affine di costringere gli uni e gli altri ad apostatare. Gli apostati poi — e ve ne sono molti — sono immediatamente spediti in località esclusivamente musulmane, da dove non si dà più ritorno. 3) Ratto di donne, secondo che per le loro qualità fisiche convengono alla vendita nei harem, o a contentare le basse passioni dei notabili o dei custodi; 4) le piccole fanciulle di diverse località si destinano in qualità di piccole serve di case turche che hanno poi l'obbligo di dar loro la rispettiva educazione musulmana. [...] i superstiti sono costretti ad abbandonare tutto il loro avere, case, possessioni, denaro, e forzati a partire per l'interno, accompagnati per lo più da gendarmi brutali, migrano di villaggio in villaggio, di pianura in pianura, senza tregua, sempre verso destinazione ignota. Moralmente abbattuti pei dolori e le separazioni subiti, il loro organismo non è più atto a resistere alle intemperie ed alle privazioni, cosicché ne muoiono molti per istrada. Altri vi sono addirittura massacrati. Così, su conferma, la notizia di un massacro generale di armeni a Van e Bitlis; poi quello di Mardin, dove fu massacrato il Vescovo cattolico insieme con 700 dei suoi fedeli²⁷. Di Angora riferisce il testimone protestante sopraccitato, che tutta la popolazione maschile armena, al di sopra di 10 anni, sia sterminata per via di un massacro. Così si

Dolci al Cardinale Gasparri, Segretario di Stato, del 29 luglio 1915 – SS.RR.SS., AA.EE.SS., Austria-Ungheria (Turchia), III periodo 1915-1916, pos. 1069, fasc. 462, n° 9181, 4-10r.

²⁶ 29 luglio 1915 – Rapporto del Delegato apostolico Dolci al Cardinale Gasparri, Segretario di Stato – SS.RR.SS., AA.EE.SS., Austria-Ungheria (Turchia), III periodo 1915-1916, pos. 1069, fasc. 462, n° 9181, 4-10r.

²⁷ Si tratta dell'Arcivescovo di Mardin Mons. Ignazio Maloyan, martirizzato nel 1915 e beatificato da Giovanni Paolo II il 7 ottobre 2001.

potrebbero citare tanti altri esempi. [...] In una chiesa abbandonata, sulla via d'Angora, erano rinchiusi e custoditi alla baionetta da 150-200 armeni diportati, fra cui un prete cattolico e due suore²⁸.

Completiamo questo brano con un altro rapporto del Cappuccino Michele Liebl che descrive gli orrori della deportazione e dei massacri.

Quando incominciò la deportazione, furono formate dal governo turco delle bande coll'incarico espresso di ammazzare tutti gli armeni che dovevano passare per i défilés delle montagne. Queste bande si composero da uomini criminosi rilasciati ad hoc dalle prigioni. In questo modo perdettero la vita migliaia e migliaia di armeni. Le donne furono per lo più separate dai loro mariti, per poter ottenere in questo modo più facilmente la conversione all'islamismo. In ciò hanno sofferto più che tutti gli altri i cattolici, specialmente quelli di Angora. A traverso l'immensa pianura di Konia morivano centinaia e centinaia di migliaia di armeni. Dovevano camminare 40 a 50 giorni, quasi senza poter prendere riposo. Tutti quelli che non erano abbastanza forti perirono d'inedie e di sfinimento. In Ghezli-Gol-Hamam furono deposti sopra un piccolo monticello 300 bambini cioè dalle proprie madri, che non potevano più portare, causa la stanchezza, i propri figli. Tutti morirono di fame. Furono trovati mezzo mangiati e divorati dai cani e corvi, dagli impiegati della ferrovia di Bagdad, i quali mi raccontarono ciò ancora adesso con manifesti segni d'orrore. Ad Alayund sono giunti 12.000 armeni, i quali non avevano con se che bambini in età di 5 anni in su. È facile indovinare ciò che sono diventati i poveri bambini al disotto di 5 anni! Quei che avevano ancora mezzi potevano fare il tragitto in ferrovia, ottanta persone in un vagone! Quei che stavano nei vagoni aperti erano esposti a tutte le intemperie del tempo. Moltissimi caddero sotto causa la stanchezza. Madri per disperazione gettavano dal treno al passaggio dei fiumi i loro figli nell'acqua per così loro risparmiare sofferenze maggiori, miseria più grande. Nell'estate dell'anno passato erano intorno a Konia campati sotto tende 55.000 armeni. Questi poveri erano esposti a tutte le vessazioni immaginabili. Furono spogliati dai poliziotti di quasi tutti i loro averi. Di questi cinquantacinquemila morirono 12.000. Oggi ancora, si vedono dei resti umani sporgere fuori dalla terra, rovesciati da anni. I restanti furono poi cacciati a colpi di bastoni innanzi verso il Taurus e al di là a Tarso, Aleppo, Deir-El-Zor e altre località. Solo una minima parte poté giungervi; la grande maggioranza vi morì strada facendo o per fame o per sfinimento o massacrati dai soldati che gli accompagnavano o dalle bande organizzate dal governo paterno turco. In quel tempo furono vendute a Konia in pubblica piazza piccole ragazze armene ad ufficiali turchi ed altri signori turchi ricchi. La miseria tra i restanti a Konia — vi sono circa 6.000 con i quali 2.000 cattolici — è così grande che le ragazze e le giovani donne armene, in numero

²⁸ 18 ottobre 1915 – Memorandum del Cappuccino Norberto Hofer, missionario a Erzerum, allegato al rapporto di Mons. Scapinelli, Nunzio apostolico a Vienna, al Cardinale Gasparri, Segretario di Stato – ASV, Segreteria di Stato, Guerra (1914-1918), rubr. 244, fasc. 110, n° 11024, 241-243, 244-246.

non piccolo, si danno alla prostituzione per scampare alle torture della fame, offrendosi ai turchi nel mercato verso la sera. [...]

Ad Angora furono massacrati tutti gli uomini armeni gregoriani due ore distanti dalla città e i loro cadaveri furono gettati nel fiume. A Urfa furono violate le donne e ragazze armene in pubblica strada e i rozzi soldati turchi si seguivano finché le disgraziate morirono sotto le loro immonde torture. Donne partorienti furono cacciate innanzi a colpi di bastoni finché morivano dall'emorragia. A Konia un Signor pregò l'ambulanza americana di seguire le [illeggibile] inviandosi verso il Taurus. Nello spazio di due ore soltanto vi furono raccolti non circa 300 moribondi²⁹.

Nel suo rapporto del 20 agosto 1915 Mons. Dolci confermava questo quadro complessivo:

Orrori raccapriccianti sono stati commessi da questo Governo contro armeni innocenti nell'interno dell'Impero. In alcune regioni sono stati massacrati, in altri deportati in luoghi incogniti per morire di fame durante tragitto. Madri hanno venduto figli per sottrarli a certa morte. Lavoro incessantemente per arrestare questa barbarie. Si è ottenuto qualche cosa in favore di armeni cattolici³⁰.

Mons. Dolci, che lavorò incessantemente per fermare i massacri e le deportazioni, così scriveva:

Ogni lunedì, giorno di ricevimento diplomatico mi recavo alla Sublime Porta e quasi ogni tre giorni presso gli Ambasciatori di Germania e Austria, ed anche presso il Ministro bulgaro, per spingerli a cooperare con me, onde fare sospendere questo massacro cruento delle uccisioni e incruento delle deportazioni. Già fin da principio si era ottenuta una distinzione fra cattolici armeni e quei scismatici. Le Autorità locali avevano in alcune regioni seguito le istruzioni del Governo, in altre invece confuso i cattolici cogli altri. Continuai allora più insistenti le pratiche presso il Gran Vizir e gli Ambasciatori e si ottenne dal Ministro dell'Interno³¹ che venissero inviati ordini telegrafici per rispettare cattolici e protestanti³².

²⁹ 3 marzo 1916 – Lettera del Cappuccino Michele Liebl, Missionario austriaco a Samsun, al Delegato apostolico Dolci del 3 marzo 1916 – ASV, Arch. Deleg. Turchia, busta 101, fasc. 527, senza protocollo, 88-89v.

³⁰ 20 agosto 1915 – Copia del Rapporto del Delegato apostolico Dolci al Cardinale Gasparri, Segretario di Stato – ACO, Armeni, fasc. 2950/28, senza protocollo.

³¹ Si tratta di Talaat Mehmed Pascià: Ministro dell'Interno ottomano, poi Gran Vizir dal 4 febbraio 1917 fino all'8 ottobre 1918.

³² 19 settembre 1915 – Rapporto del Delegato apostolico Dolci al Cardinale Gasparri, Segretario di Stato – SS.RR.SS., AA.EE.SS., Austria-Ungheria (Turchia), III periodo, 1915-1916, pos. 1069, fasc. 462, n° 10604.

In pratica Mons. Dolci ottenne qualche risultato, ma non tale da fermare le stragi, come ammise in un telegramma del 22 agosto 1915:

Nonostante reiterate promesse fatte a me e all'Ambasciatore di Germania, Governo non cessa perseguire armeni. Episcopato armeno supplica intervento Santo Padre presso Imperatori Germania e Austria³³.

Dinanzi alla gravità del massacro generale, il Cardinale Segretario di Stato Gasparri telegrafò a Mons. Dolci il 2 settembre 1915: «Interesso V.S. insistere ancora presso Governo ottomano perché cessino persecuzioni armeni»³⁴. D'ora in poi, gli interventi della Santa Sede non faranno più nessuna distinzione tra cattolici, ortodossi e protestanti e lo scopo degli interventi sarà quello di fermare la strage "tout court"!

Tuttavia, ciò che spingerà Papa Benedetto XV ad un intervento diretto e pubblico è il rapporto doloroso mandato dall'Abate generale dei Mechitaristi di Venezia, Mons. Ignazio Ghiurekian, al Pontefice il 28 agosto 1915.

Beatissimo Padre,

Nell'immane sciagura piombata sulla nostra povera nazione che dopo tanti secoli di martirii e di inauditi eccidi pare ora proprio votata allo sterminio, rivolgiamo supplici gli occhi al Trono eccelso cui la Santa Provvidenza Divina ha innalzato Vostra Santità, immagine della sua paterna bontà e clemenza in terra. Solo una parola autorevole, solo la valida intercessione di Vostra Santità potranno ottenere dal Governo ottomano la cessazione degli orribili massacri ed un contegno più umano verso un popolo innocente, inerme e tanto travagliato. [...] Dal 25 maggio in poi gli avvenimenti si succedettero precipitando e lo stato della nazione fu ridotto al suo colmo più duro e più misero. Fino a quel giorno sapevamo solo l'esilio forzato dei popoli delle città e dei villaggi della Cilicia, e riguardo alla città di Erzerum ci erano pervenuti solo dei sussurri; mentre oggi sappiamo con certezza che tutto quanto il popolo armeno delle città e dei villaggi della Cilicia è già stato rimosso e cacciato nei deserti al sud di Aleppo. Dal 1 maggio in poi sono stati messi in via, prima il popolo della città e poi quello della provincia di Erzerum, e successivamente tutta la popolazione armena cominciando da Samsun e Cesarea fino a Tigranocerta ed Edessa, compresi quelle di Trebizonda, Sebaste, Karputh, Bitlis, Van e Tigranocerta, dai grandi fino ai piccoli senza lasciare neppure un uomo, e sono stati cacciati verso i deserti, dal sud di Aleppo fino a Mossul e Bagdad. "Armenia senza gli armeni", ecco il programma dell'Impero ottomano. [...] Gli emigrati armeni devono camminare per un mese o due o ancora di più per arrivare a quell'angolo del deserto che è stato

³³ Ibidem.

³⁴ 2 settembre 1915 – Telegramma del Cardinale Gasparri al Delegato apostolico Dolci – SS.RR.SS., AA.EE.SS., Austria-Ungheria (Turchia), III periodo 1915-1916, pos. 1069, fasc. 462, n° 10448, 48. La stessa istruzione verrà ripetuta nei telegrammi del 16 ottobre e del 4 novembre 1915.

prescelto per essere il loro sepolcro. Ci sono pervenute già delle notizie che tutta la lunga via e le acque dell'Eufrate sono piene di cadaveri di questi infelici emigrati, mentre i loro compagni sono condannati a morire successivamente nei deserti, non avendo né abitazioni, né mezzi di lavorare, né sussistenza. Questo è un progetto di sterminare tutta la popolazione armena; è un eccidio enorme senza rumore e senza il nome di massacro. [...] Tutta la popolazione armena in Turchia è ora internata nei campi di concentrazione; [...] I villaggi attorno alle città di Van e di Bitlis sono stati devastati, il popolo massacrato. Ai primi del mese nella città di Sciabin-Karahissar tutto il popolo è stato trucidato; si dice che vi siano rimasti appena alcuni fanciulli, disgraziatamente i particolari di questi fatti non ci arrivano mai, oppure ci pervengono molto difficilmente. Vedete, dunque, che il popolo armeno in Turchia vive gli ultimi giorni della sua vita; e a noi non è più rimasto alcun mezzo per ritardarne la morte, e se anche gli armeni che si trovano all'estero non potranno impietosire i governi neutrali, dopo alcuni mesi appena si troveranno le tracce di un popolo di circa 1.500.000. Lo sterminio è inevitabile[...]³⁵

Ispirato dal tristissimo quadro dipinto dall'Abate Ghiurekian, Papa Benedetto XV indirizzò il 10 settembre 1915 un autografo al Sultano ottomano Maometto V Reshad³⁶.

Maestà,

Mentre il cordoglio per gli orrori della lotta tremenda nella quale insieme con le grandi nazioni dell'Europa è coinvolto il possente Impero di Vostra Maestà, Ci strazia l'animo, Ci giunge pure dolorissimo l'eco dei gemiti di tutto un popolo, il quale nei vasti domini ottomani è sottoposto ad inenarrabili sofferenze. La Nazione armena ha già veduto molti dei suoi figli mandati al patibolo, moltissimi tra i quali non pochi ecclesiastici ed anche qualche Vescovo, incarcerati o inviati in esilio. Ed ora ci viene riferito intere popolazioni di villaggi e di città sono costretti ad abbandonare le loro case per trasferirsi con indicibili stenti e patimenti in lontani luoghi di concentrazione, nei quali oltre le angosce morali debbono sopportare le privazioni della più squallida miseria e sin le torture della fame. Noi crediamo, Sire, che tali eccessi avvengono contro il volere del Governo di Vostra Maestà. [...] Se vi sono tra gli armeni traditori o colpevoli di altri delitti, che essi siano legalmente giudicati e puniti. Ma non permetta Vostra Maestà nell'altissimo Suo sentimento di giustizia che nel castigo siano travolti gli innocenti ed anche sui traviati scenda la sovrana Sua clemenza³⁷.

³⁵ 28 agosto 1915 – Lettera di Mons. Ghiurekian, Abate generale dei Mechitaristi, a Papa Benedetto XV – SS.RR.SS., AA.EE.SS., Austria-Ungheria (Turchia), III periodo 1915, pos. 1058, fasc. 458, n° 9466, 21-24v.

³⁶ Maometto V Reshad: Trentacinquesimo Sultano ottomano dal 27 aprile 1909 fino alla sua morte, il 3 luglio 1918

³⁷ 10 settembre 1915 - Versione italiana dell'autografo di Papa Benedetto XV al Sultano Maometto V Reshad allegata alla lettera del Cardinale Gasparri, Segretario di Stato, al

Durante l'udienza concessa al Delegato apostolico Dolci per consegnare la lettera pontificia al Sultano, quest'ultimo disse: "I miei sentimenti sono stati sempre pacifici, riprese S.M., sono stato costretto ed entrare in questa lotta, non per ambizione di conquista, ma unicamente per difendere l'integrità del mio Impero contro i suoi nemici (alludendo ai russi)"³⁸. Nella sua risposta del 10 novembre 1915 il Sultano disse che di fronte alle intenzioni dei rivoluzionari armeni che simpatizzavano con il nemico dell'Impero ottomano, cioè soprattutto i russi, non c'era altro modo che spostare le popolazioni armene. Inoltre era stato impossibile fare una distinzione tra l'elemento tranquillo e quello perturbatore³⁹.

Intanto, la risposta del Sultano non impediva a Papa Benedetto XV di

Delegato apostolico Dolci del 12 settembre 1915 – SS.RR.SS., AA.EE.SS., Austria-Ungheria (Turchia), III periodo 1915-1916, pos. 1069, fasc. 462, n° 9469, 21 rv.

³⁸ 28 ottobre 1915 – Rapporto del Delegato apostolico Dolci al Cardinale Gasparri, Segretario di Stato – SS.RR.SS., AA.EE.SS., Austria-Ungheria (Turchia), III periodo 1915-1916, pos. 1069, fasc. 463, n° 11641, 7-10r.

³⁹ Così reca la traduzione francese della lettera del Sultano Maometto V Reshad a Papa Benedetto XV:

Sa Majesté Impériale le Sultan à Sa Sainteté le Pape Benoît XV

Nous avons reçu la lettre que Votre Sainteté a bien voulu Nous adresser le 10 septembre 1915 pour Nous prier de mettre la population arménienne de Notre Empire à l'abri des mesures violentes et des représailles dont elle serait l'objet. Nous venons informer Votre Sainteté que les nouvelles parvenues au Saint Siège au sujet du sort des arméniens de Notre Pays ne sont pas conformes à la réalité des faits. [...] il importe de dire que certaines catégories d'arméniens se sont départies dernièrement de la fidélité que Nous sommes en droit d'en attendre. Les arméniens qui formaient des comités révolutionnaires avant le rétablissement du régime constitutionnel dans Notre Empire, avaient dans la suite transformé leur organisation en partis politiques. [...] Profitant du moment où Nos frontières étaient assaillies par les armées ennemies, les arméniens, de connivence avec celles-ci et encouragés par les Gouvernements auxquels ces armées appartiennent, créèrent un mouvement révolutionnaire qui aggravait la situation difficile de Notre Empire et entravait les mesures militaires prises dans le but d'assurer la défense de Notre Patrie. [...] Les comités révolutionnaires arméniens ayant des ramifications dans tous les coins de l'Anatolie, le soulèvement qu'ils ont organisé et que Nos ennemis ont encouragé et soutenu, a été général. En présence d'une pareille situation il était pratiquement impossible à Nos Autorités de pouvoir faire une distinction entre l'élément paisible et l'élément perturbateur de l'ordre public. Aussi, Notre Gouvernement se vit-il obligé de recourir à des mesures générales et de faire évacuer aux arméniens les régions situées immédiatement à proximité des champs d'opérations militaires. Il ne saurait en conséquence être question d'une mesure de répression ou de représailles quelconque appliquée indistinctement aux coupables et aux innocents, mais simplement d'un déplacement général nécessité par les intérêts supérieurs de Notre Empire menacé de tous côtés par de puissants ennemis. Notre Gouvernement se conformant à Notre volonté n'a cessé et ne cesse encore de veiller à ce que ces déplacements ne soient effectués d'une façon préjudiciable aux populations déplacées, [...]

10 novembre 1915 – Traduzione francese dell'autografo del Sultano Maometto V Reshad a Papa Benedetto XV – SS.RR.SS., AA.EE.SS., Austria-Ungheria (Turchia), III periodo 1915-1916, pos. 1069, fasc. 463, n° 12687, 25-26r (originale in turco, 26bis).

menzionare esplicitamente la travagliata nazione armena nella sua allocuzione concistoriale *Nobis Profecto* del 6 dicembre 1915:

Per fermo, nonostante che immense rovine si siano già accumulate nel corso di questi sedici mesi; nonostante che cresca nei cuori il desiderio della pace, e alla pace anelino nel pianto su numerose famiglie; nonostante che Noi abbiamo adoperato ogni mezzo che valesse in qualche modo ad affrettare la pace e a comporre le discordie, pur nondimeno questa guerra fatale imperversa ancora per mare e per terra, mentre, d'altra parte, sovrasta alla misera Armenia l'estrema rovina⁴⁰.

Nel frattempo, anche il Cardinale Segretario di Stato Gasparri mobilitò la rete diplomatica vaticana presso gli alleati della Turchia, cioè i Governi austro-ungarico e tedesco, e nelle sue istruzioni a Mons. Scapinelli, Nunzio a Vienna⁴¹, e a Mons. Frühwirth, Nunzio a Monaco di Baviera⁴², alludeva alle inenarrabili sofferenze degli armeni:

Sono certamente note a V.S. Ill.ma e R.ma le inenarrabili sofferenze cui nei domini ottomani sono sottoposti gli armeni. Migliaia di essi sono stati condannati al patibolo e barbaramente trucidati, molti altri sono stati costretti ad abbandonare le loro case e a trasferirsi con indicibili stenti e patimenti in lontani e deserti campi di concentrazione nei quali, oltre le angosce morali, debbono sopportare le privazioni della più squallida miseria ed i tormenti della fame. [...] non pochi ecclesiastici, e persino Vescovi, subirono la pena dell'esilio o della tortura o della morte. Non vi è pietà né per fanciulli, né per donne, né per vecchi, esposti agli arbitri ed alle violenze di ogni sorta e non sfuggono al saccheggio neppure gli edifici dedicati al culto, alla beneficenza ed all'istruzione⁴³.

Nel suo dispaccio, il Cardinale insisteva tuttavia sul fatto che se non avessero fatto nulla per fermare i massacri, l'Austria-Ungheria e la Germania avrebbero dovuto ritenersi corresponsabili di questi fatti per non averli arrestati.

⁴⁰ BENEDETTO XV, *Enciclica Nobis Profecto* del 6 dicembre 1915, in AAS 7 (1915) 510. Per la traduzione italiana si veda *Tutte le encicliche ed i principali documenti pontifici emanati dal 1740*, III, *Benedetto XV (1914-1922)*, U. BELLOCCHI (a cura di), Roma 2000, 83-85.

⁴¹ Scapinelli di Leguigno, Raffaele: Nunzio apostolico a Vienna, poi Cardinale e Pro-Nunzio dal 6 dicembre 1915 in poi. Nel 1918 venne nominato Prefetto della Congregazione per i Religiosi.

⁴² Frühwirth, Andrea Francesco: Nunzio apostolico a Monaco di Baviera, poi Cardinale e Pro-Nunzio dal 6 dicembre 1915 fino a novembre 1916.

⁴³ 2 ottobre 1915 – Lettera del Cardinale Gasparri, Segretario di Stato, a Mons. Scapinelli, Nunzio apostolico a Vienna, e a Mons. Frühwirth, Nunzio apostolico a Monaco di Baviera – SS.RR.SS., AA.EE.SS., Austria-Ungheria (Turchia), III periodo 1915-1916, pos. 1069, fasc. 462, n° 10429, 40-41v.

[...] V.S. pertanto, nel nome Augusto di Sua Santità, farà presente a cotesto Signor Ministro degli Esteri, con ogni delicatezza, ma anche con grande energia, che le leggi dell'umanità e della civiltà esigono che l'Austria (per Mons. Frühwirth, la Germania) eserciti sul Governo ottomano la massima pressione affine di far cessare prontamente atti di barbarie i quali disonorano non solo chi li commette, ma anche chi, potendolo, non li impedisce⁴⁴.

Tali istruzioni furono ripetute in altri telegrammi del 9 e 10 novembre 1915⁴⁵. La Germania e l'Austria erano, quindi, pienamente al corrente dei massacri, che benché colpirono soprattutto gli armeni, coinvolgevano anche assiri, caldei, latini e siri. Accenniamo solo al secondo rapporto del Cappuccino Norberto Hofer:

Le punizioni inflitte alla nazione armena servono di pretesto al governo massonico turco per poter impunemente sterminare tutto l'elemento cristiano dell'interno. Cogli armeni vengono perseguitati pure tutti gli altri cristiani d'ogni rito, non esclusi i rispettivi cattolici. [...] Riferisce [...] cose incredibili sulle condizioni brutali cui soggiacciono i cristiani diportati nei cosiddetti campi di concentrazione che si rivelano da lontano per la puzza di cadaveri in putrefazione e per il sucidume che vi esiste. Calcolò ad un centinaio di migliaia quei che erano diportati e custoditi nelle contrade di Bozanti, Eregli e Aleppo. Fino ad Aleppo arrivano d'ordinario solo le donne; gli uomini sono morti già prima di stenti o massacrati. Nel cortile d'un khan dei dintorni d'Aleppo vide, coricate sulla nuda terra e nuotanti nel proprio sucidume, parecchie centinaia di donne, fra cui molte madri con al seno dei bambini morti o vivi, tutte in preda d'un'apatia generale e prossime a spirare⁴⁶.

La risposta del Nunzio a Vienna insisteva sulla scarsa influenza che l'Austria-Ungheria aveva sul corso degli eventi in Turchia e suggeriva di fare appello all'Imperatore Guglielmo II di Germania.

⁴⁴ Ibidem.

⁴⁵ 9 novembre 1915 – Telegramma del Cardinale Gasparri, Segretario di Stato, a Mons. Frühwirth, Nunzio apostolico a Monaco di Baviera – ASV, Segreteria di Stato, Guerra (1914-1918), rubr. 244, fasc. 110, n° 11099, 248.

Dal Vaticano, 9 novembre 1915

Secondo notizie giunte per tramite Nunziatura Vienna, Vescovo siro cattolico di Gezira con clero e fedeli ucciso. Di armeni cattolici quattro Vescovi uccisi con clero e molti fedeli; di altri due non si hanno notizie. Persecuzione si estende anche contro cristiani caldei ed altri riti. Cristiani deportati contrade Bozanti, Eregli, Aleppo si trovano in condizioni orribili. V.S. insista presso cotesto Governo per cessazione tali eccessi, che disonorano non solo Turchia, ma anche alleati. Card. Gasparri

⁴⁶ 5 novembre 1915 – Memorandum del Cappuccino Hofer allegato al rapporto di Mons. Scapinelli, Nunzio apostolico a Vienna, al Cardinale Gasparri, Segretario di Stato – ASV, Segreteria di Stato, Guerra (1914-1918), rubr. 244, fasc. 110, n° 11316, 259, 260, 262.

Da parte mia poi non mancai di tener parola al Signor Ministro degli Esteri sulla sorte dei poveri armeni; ed egli mi assicurò che dal Governo austro-ungarico si era fatto e si continuava a fare il possibile per impedire il rinnovarsi dei dolorosi avvenimenti; ma che, attese le circostanze, non si può ottenere tutto ciò che si desiderava. Pare che le persecuzioni ed i massacri continuino. Io credo che più efficace dell'intervento dell'Austria sarebbe quello della Germania, la quale è oggi la gran padrona in Turchia. [...] Occorrerebbe interessare personalmente l'Imperatore Guglielmo II, e da lui si potrebbe forse ottenere risultati favorevoli alla causa dei cattolici, più che da altre parti⁴⁷.

Nel suo rapporto dell'11 novembre 1915, Mons. Frühwirth, Nunzio a Monaco di Baviera, esponeva il risultato del suo intervento presso il governo di Berlino:

Ho esposto i casi deplorevolissimi segnalati da Vostra Eminenza nel citato telegramma, invitandolo a fare degli energici passi presso il Governo di Berlino, allo scopo di ottenere una forte pressione sulla Turchia, perché cessino le indegne persecuzioni contro i cristiani. Il Signor von Loessl, pur facendo delle riserve sulla realtà dei fatti segnalati, giacché tutti i giornali tedeschi hanno smentito in generale le persecuzioni contro i cristiani in Turchia, mi ha promesso che non avrebbe mancato di adoperarsi nel senso desiderato presso il Governo di Berlino⁴⁸.

Dobbiamo però aggiungere che già con una nota del 4 luglio 1915 il Governo della Germania aveva ufficialmente protestato contro i massacri e declinato ogni responsabilità:

En présence de ces événements, l'Ambassade d'Allemagne, par ordre de son Gouvernement, est obligée de remontrer encore une fois contre ces actes d'horreur et de décliner toute responsabilité des conséquences qui en pourraient résulter. Elle se voit forcée à attirer l'attention du Gouvernement ottoman sur ce point d'autant plus que l'Allemagne, en sa qualité de Puissance amie et alliée de la Turquie, aurait approuvé ou même inspiré ces actions de violence⁴⁹.

⁴⁷ 18 ottobre 1915 – Rapporto di Mons. Scapinelli, Nunzio apostolico a Vienna, al Cardinale Gasparri, Segretario di Stato – ASV, Segreteria di Stato, Guerra (1914-1918), rubr. 244, fasc. 110, n° 11024, 241-243, 244-246.

⁴⁸ 11 novembre 1915 – Rapporto di Mons. Frühwirth, Nunzio apostolico a Monaco di Baviera, al Cardinale Gasparri, Segretario di Stato – ASV, Segreteria di Stato, Guerra (1914-1918), rubr. 244, fasc. 110, n° 11304, 256.

⁴⁹ 19 settembre 1915 – Rapporto del Delegato apostolico Dolci al Cardinale Gotti, Prefetto della Congregazione di Propaganda Fide – ACO, Armeni del Patriarcato 1891-1926, rubr. n° 105, 3, n° 36842.

4. Conclusione

Per concludere, possiamo chiederci quale fu l'effetto dell'autografo pontificio e degli interventi diplomatici della Santa Sede sul corso degli eventi. Papa Benedetto XV fu l'unico Sovrano o Capo religioso ad alzare la voce contro i massacri e, facendo così, "veniva, almeno col fatto, a imprimere una nota di pubblicità"⁵⁰ ai massacri raccogliendo l'apprezzamento generale da parte delle Potenze, come lasciava intravedere il Delegato apostolico Dolci:

È per me, Eminentissimo Principe, d'inesprimibile conforto, in questi luttuosi avvenimenti di stragi dell'infelice nazione armena, il constatare in queste regioni scismatiche, come si elevi maestosa la figura del nostro amatissimo Santo Padre. "Il suo gesto è il gesto dei grandi" mi diceva l'Ambasciatore degli Stati Uniti nel leggere l'autografo che trovava energico. Il Ministro d'Olanda: "È il Papa scelto dalla Provvidenza in quest'ora tragica della crisi europea". Il defunto Ambasciatore di Germania e così pure il Ministro di Danimarca, con ammirazione profonda rilevavano il valore diplomatico del documento pontificio ed aggiungevano: "Sa Sainteté est très diplomatique. Il joue un grand rôle dans cette guerre". Il prefato Ambasciatore degli Stati Uniti (giudeo ed ex-rabbino)⁵¹ come pure il suo primo dragomanno armeno protestante, erano entusiasti di gioia quando dalla lettura del citato autografo rilevavano che il Papa non faceva distinzione alcuna di religione, essendo il suo intervento per tutta intera la nazione armena⁵².

I passi presso i Governi della Germania e dell'Austria ebbero come effetto di sottolineare che "esisteva un problema di immagine internazionale del loro rapporto con l'alleato ottomano"⁵³ (quindi la questione della corresponsabilità per i massacri). Sembra che l'intervento pontificio insieme alle pressioni tedesche abbiano almeno rallentato le misure contro gli armeni,

⁵⁰ 24 novembre 1915 – Rapporto del Delegato apostolico Dolci al Cardinale Gasparri, Segretario di Stato – SS.RR.SS., AA.EE.SS., Austria-Ungheria (Turchia), III periodo 1915-1916, pos. 1069, fasc. 463, n° 12531, 19-22v.

⁵¹ Si tratta qui di Henry Morgenthau: Ambasciatore degli Stati-Uniti a Costantinopoli dal 1913 fino al 1916, Delegato degli Stati Uniti alla Società delle Nazioni per gli anni 1923-1924. Denunciò il massacro generale degli armeni nella sua pubblicazione *Ambassador Morgenthau's Story* (1918). Con altri americani decise di formare un fondo pubblico formando un comitato di assistenza degli armeni, il *Committee on Armenian Atrocities* – Comitato per le atrocità verso gli Armeni (in seguito ribattezzata *Near East Relief* – Aiuti del Medio Oriente).

⁵² 24 novembre 1915 – Rapporto del Delegato apostolico Dolci al Cardinale Gotti, Prefetto della Congregazione di Propaganda Fide – ACO, Armeni del Patriarcato 1891-1926, rubr. n° 105, 3, n° 36941.

⁵³ A. RICCARDI, «Benedetto XV e la crisi della convivenza multireligiosa nell'impero ottomano», 106.

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⁵³ A. RICCARDI, «Benedetto XV e la crisi della convivenza multireligiosa nell'impero ottomano», 106.

anche se fino alla fine del 1915 e del 1916 continuarono le deportazioni e i massacri:

Risultato nota lettera del Santo Padre per S.M. il Sultano si è veduto nell'immediato miglioramento della situazione armena che confermo. Oggi Ministro Esteri mi diceva che sono stati impartiti ordini per la generale sospensione delle misure di deportazione, e che i cattolici avrebbero potuto ritornare tranquilli ai propri domicili. Gabinetto ha pure approvato la risposta formulata alla lettera del Santo Padre. [...] Non ho mancato anche di far rilevare agli scismatici e ai protestanti armeni, e il documento pontificio era chiarissimo, che il provvidenziale intervento del Santo Padre era a favore della intera nazione armena senza alcuna distinzione⁵⁴.

Non intendiamo illustrare qui gli altri interventi della Santa Sede per scongiurare le misure prese in Siria e in Libano per affamare la popolazione cristiana; le minacce di massacri degli armeni nel Caucaso rioccupato dai Turchi dopo il Trattato di Brest-Litovsk, ciò che suscitò un secondo autografo di Benedetto XV al Sultano il 12 marzo 1918⁵⁵. Si dovrebbe anche documentare l'appoggio di Benedetto XV per la creazione di un'Armenia libera e autonoma, come punto esplicitamente previsto nella famosa nota per la pace inviata dal Papa ai capi dei popoli belligeranti il 1 agosto 1917⁵⁶ nonché nell'autografo pontificio dell'8 novembre 1918 al Presidente

⁵⁴ 24 novembre 1915 – Rapporto del Delegato apostolico Dolci al Cardinale Gotti, Prefetto della Congregazione di Propaganda Fide – ACO, Armeni del Patriarcato 1891-1926, rubr. n° 105, 3, n° 36941.

⁵⁵ 12 marzo 1918 – Autografo di Papa Benedetto XV al Sultano Maometto V Reshad – SS.RR.SS., AA.EE.SS., Asia-Africa-Oceania, III periodo 1918-1922, pos. 57, fasc. 44, n° 57892, 22-23v.

[...] En vertu du traité de paix que les armées de Votre Majesté unies à celle de vos alliés ont imposé à la Russie des territoires considérables rentrent sous la domination de la Turquie et ces contrées sont en grande partie habitées par des arméniens. De grâce, que l'on épargne et que l'on protège les populations désarmées et innocentes spécialement composées de femmes et d'enfants qui parmi les horreurs de la guerre ont traversé tant de sang et de ruines, qui ont vu leurs fils massacrés, leurs maisons ruinées, leurs biens anéantis ! C'est un don des Puissants de savoir pratiquer la générosité et la miséricorde. Et maintenant qu'il n'y a plus de motifs de craindre, maintenant que cessent les raisons d'ordre militaire signalées par Votre Majesté dans sa lettre du 10 novembre [1915] et que bien au contraire, l'Empire ottoman étend au nord ses vastes domaines, puissent les pauvres arméniens voir s'abaisser sur eux en abondance la pitié et la clémence souveraines !

⁵⁶ Si tratta della famosa nota per la pace di Papa Benedetto XV ai Capi dei popoli belligeranti del 1 agosto 1917. Si trova in AAS IX (1917) 417-420 (versione francese); 421-423 (versione italiana), nonché in *La Civiltà Cattolica*, 1917, III, fasc. 1613, 385-392. Riportiamo il brano che si riferisce all'Armenia:

[...] Lo stesso spirito di equità e di giustizia dovrà dirigere l'esame di tutte le altre questioni territoriali e politiche, nominatamente quelle relative all'assetto dell'Armenia, degli Stati Balcanici e dei paesi formanti parte dell'antico Regno di Polonia, al quale in particolare le sue

statunitense Wilson⁵⁷. Bisogna almeno menzionare anche i vari interventi presso le Potenze dell'Intesa durante le varie conferenze per la Pace, compresa quella di Losanna negli anni 1922-23, a pro di una patria armena indipendente.

Come documento conclusivo riproduciamo – per quanto tocca la Chiesa armeno-cattolica – il bilancio del genocidio redatto dal Patriarca armeno cattolico Pietro Paolo XIII Terzian⁵⁸ nel dicembre 1918, non senza rendere un ultimo omaggio ai numerosi sacerdoti e Vescovi armeno cattolici martiri del “Grande Male” del 1915.

Chi sa, che gridi strazianti si alzarono verso il cielo da quelle vastissime pianure, diventate un immenso cimitero pei armeni, i nostri cari fratelli e figlie! È vero, abbiamo sentito e pianto le numerose defezioni, ma siamo consolati che i nostri Vescovi e sacerdoti appena saputo il trame [sic] preparato ad essi, hanno subito disposto i fedeli alla morte da martire; hanno dato l'assoluzione generale e come si racconta per molti, consacrando il pane, distribuirono a tutti l'ultimo viatico. Così abbiamo sentito che Mons. Andrea Celebian, Vescovo di Diarbekir, è stato sepolto vivo in un pozzo fino al petto, e fucilato. Mons. Ignazio Maloyan, Arcivescovo di Mardin, consacrando del pane distribuì ai suoi, è stato fucilato coi suoi sacerdoti fuori della città. Mons. Michele Khaciadurian, Vescovo di Malatia, è stato spogliato dai suoi vestiti e chiodato dalle mani e piedi sul pian terreno,

nobili tradizioni storiche e le sofferenze sopportate, specialmente durante l'attuale guerra, debbono giustamente conciliare le simpatie delle nazioni. Sono queste le precipue basi sulle quali crediamo debba posare il futuro assetto dei popoli. Esse sono tali da rendere impossibile il ripetersi di simili conflitti e preparano la soluzione della questione economica, così importante per l'avvenire e pel benessere materiale di tutti gli stati belligeranti. Nel presentare pertanto a Voi, che reggete in questa tragica ora le sorti dei popoli belligeranti, siamo animati dalla cara e soave speranza di vederle accettate e di giungere così quanto prima alla cessazione di questa lotta tremenda, la quale, ogni giorno più, apparisce inutile strage [...].

⁵⁷ 8 novembre 1918 – Autografo di Papa Benedetto XV al Signor Woodrow Wilson, Presidente degli Stati-Uniti d'America – SS.RR.SS., AA.EE.SS., Stati Ecclesiastici, pos. 1317, vol. 12, n° 83055, 240-241.

[...] En dehors de la Pologne, il y avait, il y a encore une autre nation qui mérite les sympathies de Votre Excellence et de tous les hommes de cœur, Nous voulons parler de l'Arménie. Il est inutile de rappeler combien cette infortunée nation a souffert, spécialement dans ces dernières années ! Bien que le peuple arménien, dans sa plus grande majorité, n'appartient pas à la religion catholique, le Saint Siège, à différentes reprises, s'est intéressé à sa défense, soit par la mention spéciale qu'il en a faite dans sa Note aux Puissances belligérantes du 1^{er} août 1917, soit en écrivant au Sultan pour obtenir en faveur des pauvres arméniens la cessation des massacres, soit en envoyant des secours matériels pour adoucir un peu leurs souffrances. Mais tout cela est inutile si on ne reconnaît pas à l'Arménie réunie la pleine indépendance, qu'elle a méritée du reste à tous les points de vue. C'est pourquoi l'humanité entière a les yeux fixés sur le grand Président de la plus grande démocratie du monde.

⁵⁸ Terzian, Paolo Pietro XIII: Vescovo armeno cattolico di Adana, poi Patriarca armeno cattolico di Cilicia dal 23 aprile 1910 fino alla sua rinuncia, il 31 maggio 1931.

nel carcere di Malatia; così anche i suoi sacerdoti tutti insieme. Mons. Stefano Israëlian, Vescovo di Karputh, per ordine del Governatore aveva lasciato la sua città episcopale per andare in Aleppo, coi suoi, con promessa fatta dal Governo per farlo ritornare con più onori, poiché egli in tutta la sua vita era stato fedele al Governo. Molti dei musulmani notabili gli facevano onori, al momento della sua partenza, quando egli passava davanti alla loro casa. Ma arrivato ad una pianura fuori della città, il Vescovo conobbe l'illusione, come ci hanno raccontato i musulmani stessi arrivati da quel paese, e invitò i suoi per prepararsi alla morte e quando ha detto ch'erano pronti sono stati fucilati. Per Mons. Giacomo Topuzian, Vescovo di Musc, si racconta che l'hanno fatto a pezzi senza pietà, coi suoi sacerdoti e fedeli⁵⁹.

*Lista – Lo stato delle diocesi prima e dopo le deportazioni*⁶⁰

Diocesi	Numero dei fedeli Approssimativamente		Chiese e cappelle		Missioni stabili o visitate		Scuole per figli e figlie		Conventi di religiosi e religiose		Seminari		Vescovadi e presbiteri		Orfanotrofi		Vescovi e sacerdoti trucidati, o morti nel tempo degli avvenimenti
1. Monte Libano	300	200	3	3	3	3	5		1	1	1	1	3	3			14
2. Aleppo	7.000	6.000	8	1	8		5	2	1	1			9	1			1
3. Mardin	8.000	1.500	8		8		7				1		9				11
4. Sebaste & Tokat	6.000		7		6		9		4				7				3
5. Malatia	5.000		6		7		8		1				8				9
6. Diarbekir	3.500		5		5		4		1				6				4
7. Marasc	8.000	7.000	6	1	3		5	1	1	1			4	1			3
8. Adana	3.500		6	1	5		8		3		1		6				2
9. Alessandria	2.000	2.000	2	2	2	2	2	1	1	1			2	2			
10. Cesarea	2.000		3		3		2						3				
11. Beyruth			2	2			1						1				

⁵⁹ 20 dicembre 1918 – Lettera del Patriarca armeno cattolico Terzian al Cardinale Marini, Segretario della Congregazione per la Chiesa orientale, con quattro liste allegate – ACO, Armeni del Patriarcato 1891-1926, rubr. n° 105, 3, n° 1325.

⁶⁰ Ibidem.

12. Damasco	2.700	2.700	1	1									1	1				
13. Gerusalemme			1	1					1				1	1				
14. Costantinopoli	6.000	6.000	13	12			10	5	5	5	1	1	14	12	1	1		
15. Brussa	3.000	3.000	6	4	5	4	8	2	2	1			5	4				1
16. Angora	11.000	1.500	12		5		12		1		1		3					10
17. Trebizonda	3.500		7		7		3		4				7					9
18. Erzerum	15.000		41		30		30		1		1		30					48
19. Musc	5.000		6		3		9						3					4
20. Karputh	4.000		9		9		16		1				9					8
21. Smirne	2.000	2.000	2	2	1	1	1		1	1			1	1				
22. Nicomedia	500		1	1			1		1				1					
23. Baghgegik	800		1	0			2		2				1					
24. Altre località		2.000																
Totale	98.800	33.900	156	20	110	10	148	11	32	11	6	2	134	26	1	1	248	126

Pontificio Istituto Orietnale

Georges Ruyssen, S.J.

SUMMARY

The Vatican Archives are a relatively unexplored source of documents testifying to the attitudes of the Holy See in general, and of Pope Benedict XV in particular, towards the Armenian genocide of 1915. The A. has already edited five of the seven volumes of *La Questione Armena*, a series collecting these sources. After a short overview of the situation of the Christians in the Ottoman Empire on the eve of the First World War, the article for the most part lets the documents speak for themselves. They range from the beginning of the genocide on 24th April 1915 up to a letter of Pope Benedict XV of 10th September 1915, begging the Ottoman Sultan to put an end to the massacres. One can see two themes developing in these dispatches and reports. Firstly, the Vatican gradually became aware that the events were not simply a standard repression *à la turque* of an Armenian rebellion, but a large-scale, systematic program of deportation and extermination with elderly people and children among the victims. Secondly, whereas initially the Holy See had sought simply to save the Catholics, calling on the Turks to distinguish them from other groups, its diplomatic and humanitarian effort came gradually to embrace all Christians without distinction: Catholics, Protestants and Orthodox. Pope Benedict XV was the only sovereign or religious leader to protest officially against this tragedy. His interventions, however, did not halt the massacres, but only slowed them down. This did not restrain the Holy See to put into action its Apostolic Nuncios in Germany and Austria-Hungary, Turkey's allies. The article also reproduces statistical data on the losses suffered by the Armenian Catholic dioceses during the genocide.

Valentino Pace

Il Salento medievale in un libro di Linda Safran

Salento, Arte e Identità sono le tre parole-chiave di questo libro¹, scritto da una studiosa già ben nota per i suoi scritti sulla Puglia, non solo per la sua eccellente monografia sul San Pietro di Otranto, risalente ormai a oltre vent'anni addietro, ma anche per i suoi numerosi articoli pubblicati in seguito, che la pongono nel ristretto novero degli specialisti della storia dell'arte di questa terra².

Scritto da una storica dell'arte per educazione e professione, questo libro tuttavia non è un libro di storia dell'arte, ma 'anche' di storia dell'arte, perché è in primo luogo uno studio sul Salento, che cerca di condurre il lettore a comprenderne la specificità (l' "identità") attraverso la documentazione che l'autrice ritiene sia la più efficace per tale finalità: il patrimonio di iscrizioni (compresi i graffiti) preservato sui monumenti pubblici, le immagini (figurative, ma non soltanto) dipinte o scolpite, in prevalente simbiosi con le iscrizioni (anche se non sempre) e tali da 'informarci' sul loro contesto genetico socio-antropologico.

¹ Linda Safran, *The Medieval Salento. Art and Identity in Southern Italy*, The Middle Ages Series, University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia 2014, pp. 469.

² Della bibliografia della studiosa, indicata con completezza nella bibliografia di questo libro, mi limito a ricordare qualcuno dei saggi più da vicino afferenti al tema qui discusso: "Language Choice in the Medieval Salento: A Sociolinguistic Approach to Greek and Latin Inscriptions", in *Zwischen Polis, Provinz und Peripherie: Beiträge zur byzantinischen Geschichte und Kultur*, Mainzer Veröffentlichungen zur Byzantinistik, 7, ed. L. Hoffmann, Wiesbaden 2005, pp. 853-882; "Scoperte salentine", in *Arte medievale* 7/2 (2008), pp. 69-94; "Cultures textuelles publiques: Une étude de cas dans le sud de l'Italie", in *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 52 (2009), pp. 245-263; "Betwixt or Beyond? The Salento in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries", in *Renaissance Encounters: Greek East and Latin West*, ed. M. S. Brownlee and D. Gondicas, Leiden 2013, pp. 115-144; "Deconstructing 'Donors' in Medieval Southern Italy", in *Female Founders in Byzantium and Beyond*, ed. L. Theis, M. Mullett and M. Grünbart, in *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 60-61 (2011-2012), Vienna 2013, pp. 133-149.

Il libro si sviluppa su otto capitoli funzionali a un database sui "Sites in the Salento with Texts and Images Informative About Identity", comprensivo di 162 schede. I capitoli, preceduti dall'Introduzione, informano il lettore sui "Names" (il I), i "Languages" (il II), sull'"Appearance" (il III), lo "Status" (il IV), il "Life Cycle" (il V), i "Rituals and Other Practices in Places of Worship" (il VI), i "Rituals and Practices at Home in the Community" (il VII), infine quello conclusivo: "Theorizing Salentine Identity" (l'VIII). In tutto sono 465 pagine, con un Database di 162 schede su 94 pagine, inclusivo di 20 belle foto a colori e piccole foto in bianco/nero dei soggetti più rilevanti per la discussione³. Ricco ed esauriente l'apparato di note, rilevante per ampiezza multidisciplinare la bibliografia citata, estremamente esauriente l'indice dei luoghi, delle persone, dei temi trattati. Maneggevole e compatto il formato editoriale della University of Pennsylvania Press, assolutamente inappuntabile se non fosse stato per il foglio bianco di p. 396 dove avrebbero dovuto trovar luogo le ultime, brevi, tre note⁴.

"A 'real-life' regional microhistory extrapolated from visual and material sources is the subject and the object of this book", scrive l'autrice nella sua Introduzione (p. 13). La microstoria regionale è quella del Salento nella circoscrizione territoriale qui scelta (v. la nota 63 a p. 339) su un arco di possibilità che ne restringono o diversamente ne configurano i confini. La scelta della Safran è estensiva, perché vi include anche le aree tarantine e brindisine, modellandone la geografia sulla "Terra d'Otranto", quale essa si è configurata amministrativamente in età normanna. Tuttavia suscita seri dubbi l'omogeneità "identitaria" di questo spazio territoriale⁵. Posto che Matera non è Salento, tuttavia la conformazione geologica delle sue gravine e le conseguenti caratteristiche dei suoi insediamenti, in particolare delle sue chiese rupestri, ha forti caratteri di similarità con i 'centri' di

³ Le schede sono fornite di bibliografia, scansionata su una sequenza che, mi è sembrato di capire, ha inteso privilegiare (ma non sempre) in ordine decrescente i testi più significativi per specificità d'interesse agli aspetti grafici o visuali. Così, per fare un esempio, la scheda 75 su Santa Margherita di Mottola, cita Jacovelli, Safran, Tortorelli, Fonseca, Medea, Guillou, con riferimento a pubblicazioni del 1968, 2010, 2008, 1970, 1939 e 1978. Mi pare ovvio che l'ordine rigorosamente cronologico sarebbe stato preferibile.

⁴ Le si riporta qui per utilità del lettore interessato. Nota 171: Jones, *Archaeology of Ethnicity*, 90; Bentley, "Ethnicity", 27-33; Bentley, "Response". 173; nota 172: See Rosser-Owen, "Mediterraneanism"; Goskar, "Material worlds"; W. V. Harris, ed., *Rethinking*; nota 173: See esp. Tronzo, "Regarding Norman Sicily".

⁵ La Safran è in verità molto attenta a sottolineare l'attualità della "Salentine Identity" (pp. 11-13), ma questo fenomeno anche oggi ha il suo baricentro nel Leccese, non certo nel Tarantino o nell'area altrimenti detta della Bassa Murgia. Non un abitante di Grottaglie, di Massafra, di Mottola, Palagianello, a tacere di Taranto, mi ha detto di "sentirsi" salentino. Le stesse pubblicazioni della Regione Puglia o del TCI distinguono nettamente il Salento dalla Bassa Murgia.



Fig. 1. Massafra, Madonna della Buona Nuova, s. Lucia (foto da: C. D. Fonseca, *Civiltà rupestre in terra jonica*, Milano – Roma, s.d. [1970]).



Fig. 2. Mottola, chiesa rupestre di San Nicola, s. Lucia (foto V. Fumarola, Mottola).



Fig. 3. Santa Maria delle Cerrate, portale d'ingresso (foto V. Pace).



Fig. 4. Brindisi, San Benedetto, part. dell'architrave sul portale d'ingresso (foto V. Pace).



Figg. 5-7. Brindisi, San Giovanni al Sepolcro, part. degli stipiti del portale d'ingresso (foto V. Pace)



Fig. 8. Milano, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, ms. D 67 sup., f. 127: Presentazione al tempio (foto da Durante, art. cit. alla nota 10).



Fig. 9. Milano, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, ms. D 67 sup., f. 79v: Ultima cena (foto da Durante, art. cit. alla nota 10).



Fig. 10. Copertino, chiesa rupestre anonima nella Masseria Li Monaci, scena cortese (foto da Safran, pl. 9).

Massafra, Mottola (Casalrotto) e Palagianello, i cui territori abitativi sono a loro volta meno confrontabili con quelli della celebre Carpignano, di Nardò, di Ugento, di Vaste e altri. Altrettanto potrebbe dirsi delle “lame” del circondario Fasano-Monopoli, in Terra di Bari, inscindibili dal punto di vista delle espressioni sociali, quali si riverberano nel fenomeno rupestre, dall’area della Bassa Murgia. Se su un bacino territoriale di riferimento, quale qui si considera il Salento, si vogliono esaminare i caratteri identitari, non può dunque prescindere da quelle identità geomorfologiche e conseguentemente socio-culturali che accomunano queste zone, escludendo invece il territorio salentino a sud, grosso modo, del percorso dell’Appia fra Taranto e Brindisi⁶. Si aggiunga che la diversa preesistenza longobarda certamente ha inciso su una diversità da questi centri nord-occidentali rispetto a quelli caratterizzati e identificati con la “Grecia salentina”. Accettando comunque la discutibile scelta ‘geografica’ dell’Autrice resta tuttavia il nodo gravoso del suo arco cronologico, perché “the period between the ninth and the early fifteenth centuries” (p. 5) vede fluire vicende che da un estremo (della presenza bizantina) all’altro (della presenza angioina) con difficoltà possono storicamente essere rapportate a un comune quadro identitario (nel senso del libro). Inoltre in alcuni siti, soprattutto a Mottola, almeno dalla documentazione prodotta dalla studiosa, non si riscontrano rilevanti tracce di quelle comunità di rito ortodosso e lingua greca, né ebraica, la cui presenza sul medesimo territorio è per la studiosa il più significativo marcatore identitario.

L’“Arte” naturalmente subisce le stesse vicende di fluidità che segnano la storia politica e amministrativa, ma più plasticamente la storia stessa può evidenziarla: come rapportare a uno stesso indicatore identitario, che non sia l’ovvia presenza nella stessa città, una chiesa “bizantina” come quella del San Pietro di Otranto e la sua cattedrale “normanna” e, ancor più, la decorazione pittorica della prima, fra il 1000 e il 1300 circa, e, a metà strada di cronologia, il mosaico pavimentale della cattedrale? Ovviamente l’A. è ben consapevole di queste differenze e non ha preteso di scorgervi una continuità, tanto meno si è posta il problema in ‘questi’ termini che a lei non interessano, perché quanto attira la sua attenzione, occupan-

⁶ Con esclusione del circondario delle “lame” di Fasano-Monopoli, quasi un *enclave* nella Terra di Bari, questa circoscrizione territoriale è quella definita da C. D. Fonseca, *Il comprensorio della civiltà rupestre*, Massafra, s.d., visualizzata dalla cartina territoriale alla fig. 4 di p. 13. Per i percorsi viari, pur essi di primaria importanza per l’aggregazione sociale, si vedano gli studi di Pietro Dalena, di cui mi limito a ricordare *Dagli ‘Itinera’ ai percorsi. Viaggiare nel Mezzogiorno medievale*, Bari 2003, e i saggi in *Via Francigena. Cammini di fede e di turismo culturale*, Seminari di Studio (Acaja – Supersano – Novoli 2010-2011) a cura di A. Trono, Galatina 2012 (Università del Salento. Dip. dei Beni delle arti e della storia. Saggi e testi, 48), in particolare quelli della Parte II e III.

dosi per esempio del mosaico idruntino (pp. 225-226), è piuttosto il suo valore testimoniale di una coesistenza fra i due riti, cattolico e ortodosso, oltre che di una possibile ricezione di valenze “interculturali” ebraiche e musulmane. Ma in questo modo il discorso storico-artistico viene ridotto al rango di una visualità utilizzata a posteriori per illustrare le forme della presupposta identità, mentre non la determina e non la spiega. Con questa indifferenziazione delle specificità delle singole opere si potrebbe allora analizzare e strumentalizzare all'identità salentina anche una chiesa rupestre calabrese o campana. D'altro canto, aggiungerei, già le figure di sante del trittico della Buona Nuova a Massafra (fig. 1), per citare un'opera in chiesa rupestre, rinviano piuttosto al nuovo, transregionale clima cortese di generica ascendenza franco-napoletana, che non a un endogeno sviluppo ‘salentino’, come per esempio, a Mottola (fig. 2). Galatina, nella prima metà del ‘400, sigla nel modo più spettacolare il tornante ‘moderno’ della pittura pugliese⁷.

La terza parola chiave del libro, in realtà il concetto che ne domina intellettualmente la struttura, è appunto l’“identità”. Per l’A., che pur ne riconosce la difficoltà di definizione, essa può qualificarsi come “that bundle of verbal and corporal [and visual] statements persons and groups use to recognize one another”, involvendo “individual’s identification with broader groups on the basis of differences socially sanctioned as significant” (p. 3)⁸. È in questo “riconoscimento” reciproco di individui appartenenti a gruppi differenziati che la Safran coglie il fattore caratterizzante l'identità salentina.

* * *

Chiarita l'impostazione del libro, osserverei tuttavia subito che l'esclusione di altre forme di espressione visuale, che non siano le sole immagini e iscrizioni ‘esposte’, “intended from the outset to be viewed by multiple persons”, pur pragmaticamente comprensibile, incide sulla completezza dell'assunto. È il caso, in primissimo luogo, dell'architettura, pur essa

⁷ Significativa la sequenza di confronti proposti da M. S. Calò Mariani, *Monte Sant'Angelo. Il complesso monumentale di San Pietro, di Santa Maria Maggiore e del battistero di San Giovanni*, Galatina 2013, pp. 74-78, fra opere nella Capitanata, Terra di Bari e Salento, unite dal comune denominatore del gusto aristocratico diffuso dalla corte angioina di Napoli.

⁸ Le citazioni accreditano queste definizioni a lavori di Richard Trexler del 1985, di Margarita Driaz-Andreu e Sam Lucy del 1985. Alla bibliografia degli studi antropologici citati dalla studiosa, comprensiva anche delle voci critiche sul concetto in questione, mi permetto di aggiungere, per l'Italia, almeno i libri di Francesco Remotti: *Contro l'identità*, Bari 1996 e *L'ossessione identitaria*, Bari 2010. Ai non specialisti può risultare utile il successivo articolo, dallo stesso titolo del libro, pubblicato nella *Rivista Italiana di Gruppoanalisi* 25/1 (2011), pp. 9-29 (consultabile, con altri, in formato digitale).

dosi per esempio del mosaico idruntino (pp. 225-226), è piuttosto il suo valore testimoniale di una coesistenza fra i due riti, cattolico e ortodosso, oltre che di una possibile ricezione di valenze “interculturali” ebraiche e musulmane. Ma in questo modo il discorso storico-artistico viene ridotto al rango di una visualità utilizzata a posteriori per illustrare le forme della presupposta identità, mentre non la determina e non la spiega. Con questa indifferenziazione delle specificità delle singole opere si potrebbe allora analizzare e strumentalizzare all'identità salentina anche una chiesa rupestre calabrese o campana. D'altro canto, aggiungerei, già le figure di sante del trittico della Buona Nuova a Massafra (fig. 1), per citare un'opera in chiesa rupestre, rinviano piuttosto al nuovo, transregionale clima cortese di generica ascendenza franco-napoletana, che non a un endogeno sviluppo ‘salentino’, come per esempio, a Mottola (fig. 2). Galatina, nella prima metà del ‘400, sigla nel modo più spettacolare il tornante ‘moderno’ della pittura pugliese⁷.

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espressione visuale, che oltretutto 'ospita' le forme grafiche e visuali privilegiate. Qualche esempio fra tutti: la chiesa monastica di Santa Maria delle Cerrate, la grande cattedrale di Taranto o la chiesa monastica di San Nicola di Casole, della quale più volte è nominato il suo abate Nicholas/Nektarios. Già infatti le loro configurazioni architettoniche sono la conseguenza di scelte di committenza, che è necessario far dialogare con le immagini, in sintonia o meno, con le risultanze dell'incrocio grafico-figurativo: a nessuno, per esempio, verrebbe in mente, guardando la sua architettura esterna o, a prima vista, il suo spazio basilicale interno, che la chiesa di Cerrate ospiti affreschi "more graeco", tra i più belli della regione e dell'Italia meridionale tutta, pur successivi di alcune generazioni alla sua fondazione, così come l'affresco nella cripta della cattedrale di Taranto (pl. 16) è di tanto più interessante perché, non diversamente da quanto avviene di frequente un po' ovunque e anche fuori del Salento, la sua maniera grecizzante si trova in un edificio totalmente 'latino'; o, ancora, i magnifici ruderi di Casole difficilmente li si immagina come l'ambiente quotidiano del celebre abate Nicholas/Nektarios, più volte ricordato nel libro. Ma anche la scultura monumentale, intrinseca d'altronde all'architettura, sarebbe potuta essere utile all'assunto, se più sistematicamente considerata. Già il caso del portale d'ingresso della chiesa di Cerrate (fig. 3), appena citata, è in proposito indicativo e ci si può chiedere perché esso non venga espressamente ricordato; oppure perché viene accreditata di una pur breve citazione la 'carola' di personaggi maschili e femminili sul capitello adespoto da Sant'Andrea dell'Isola presso Brindisi, ma non l'intrigante architrave 'islamizzante' con scene di caccia sull'architrave della chiesa di San Benedetto (fig. 4)? O, ancor più, perché ignorare l'affascinante portale del San Giovanni al Sepolcro di questa stessa città?⁹ Qui il "bestiario" e i temi sugli stipiti (figg. 5-7) e i capitelli, anche se 'muti', perché vi mancano iscrizioni, non sono meno 'loquenti' di altre opere cui si affiancano iscrizioni, trasmettendoci presenze o echi di miti e di cultura per null'affatto secondari nella prospettiva critica di questo libro, anche se prive di individualità onomastica. Ugualmente, dei libri non si sarebbe dovuto fare a meno, perché l'"identity" non può essere ristretta al discorso "pubblico", sottraendo di conseguenza all'analisi "books and portable paintings" che offrono "scarce information about the agency of publica art" (p. 3). Lo mostra il tema del Bestiario medievale che, "pubblicamente" esposto ai fedeli e ad altri sugli stipiti della chiesa brindisina del Sepolcro, immediatamente sollecita un raccordo (pur se ge-

⁹ Sull'architrave: G. Gabrieli, U. Scerrato, *Gli Arabi in Italia*, Milano 1979, p. 350; su di esso e l'intera chiesa: P. Belli D'Elia, *Puglia romanica*, Milano 2003, pp. 212-222; sul San Giovanni al Sepolcro di Brindisi: *ibidem*, pp. 299-300 (ma senza adeguata riproduzione di quanto qui interessa).

nericamente tematico) con un codice quale il *Physiologus* greco, nella sua versione dell'*Ambr. E 16 sup.*, così come importanti sono altri codici, di origine salentina, dei quali ancora di recente è stata sottolineata la piena integrazione del loro materiale figurativo alla sfera della pittura monumentale, come, per esempio, l'*Ambr. D 67 sup.* (fig. 8)¹⁰. In merito, ancora, e a conclusione di queste mie osservazioni di fondo, prima di rivolgerci più in dettaglio alle pagine dei diversi capitoli, è anche necessario ricordare un dato di fatto essenziale e preliminare alla valenza pur solo 'visuale' della documentazione d'immagine: la pittura pugliese, quella salentina in specie è largamente iconica e ha una percentuale assolutamente minoritaria di cicli o scene 'narrative', siano esse bibliche (quasi esclusivamente cristologiche) o agiografiche¹¹. È una situazione non diversa dall'adiacente area del materano e del sud della Terra di Bari (Monopoli / Fasano) dove peraltro sono conservati almeno due cicli, l'uno veterotestamentario, nella cosiddetta Grotta del Peccato originale, l'altro, apocalittico, a Seppannibale¹². Essa è comunque tale da doverne almeno postulare le ragioni e coinvolgerla fra le 'strutture' dell'identità.

Il ventaglio delle opere prese in considerazione è presentato, come qui ricordato all'inizio, secondo un' articolazione che procede attraverso i caratteri sui quali viene costruita l'identità salentina, primi fra tutti i nomi e le lingue. È vero che dalla presenza di nomi documentati sulle immagini o sulle iscrizioni, latine, greche ed ebraiche, si coglie subito il carattere 'misto' di questa società del Salento medievale, ma mi domando quanto sia

¹⁰ Per il *Physiologus* v. X. Muratova, "L'arte longobarda e il 'physiologus'", in *Atti del 6° Congresso internazionale di studi sull'alto medioevo* (Milano 1978), Spoleto 1980, pp. 547-558. Per i mss. salentini: R. Durante, "La decorazione dei codici salentini: l'esempio del Vallicelliano C 7", in *Nέα Πώμη. Rivista di ricerche bizantinistiche* 5 (2008), pp. 277-301; Eadem, "Miniature e affreschi in Terra d'Otranto. L'Ambrosianus D 67 sup. e le decorazioni pittoriche di Santa Maria della Croce a Casaranello e di S. Mauro a Gallipoli", in *RSBN* 43 (2008), pp. 225-256; Eadem, "L'Iliade in Terra d'Otranto: il teatro omerico nell'inedito ciclo illustrativo del breslaviense Rehdiger 26", in *Aevum* 86 (2012), pp. 493-517; Eadem, "Immagini della tenerezza. La Vergine Eleousa del manoscritto Borgiano Greco 7 e la pittura monumentale salentina", in *Iconographica* 10-11 (2011-2012), pp. 57-69. Sul patrimonio scrittorio, v. adesso S. Lucà, "Scritture e libri in Terra d'Otranto fra XI e XII secolo", in *Bizantini, longobardi e arabi*, cit. infra [nota 16], pp. 487-548, tavv. I-XXI.

¹¹ Lo osservai e lo problematizzai sin dal mio primo saggio sulla pittura pugliese: V. Pace, "La pittura delle origini in Puglia (secc. IX-XIV)", in *La Puglia fra Bizanzio e l'Occidente*, Milano 1980, pp. 317-400, 415-418, in part. nel mio cap. 8 ("L'iconismo della pittura pugliese: un'ipotesi"), alle pp. 338-340.

¹² G. Bertelli, "Modelli iconografici nelle chiese rupestri di Puglia e Basilicata. I cicli affrescati con storie bibliche e cristologiche", in *Agiografia e iconografia nelle aree della civiltà rupestre. Atti del V Convegno internazionale sulla civiltà rupestre (Savelletri di Fasano, 2011)*, Spoleto 2013, pp. 121-146, tavv. I-XVII.

utile, anche per un database, stabilire classifiche di frequenza e cogliere per esempio il predominio, nel campo della popolazione cattolica dei Giovanni, Nicola, Michele o Giorgio. Cambierebbe la situazione nella Terra di Bari o in Capitanata? Certamente nella prima ci sarebbero più Nicola, mentre nella seconda trionfarebbe Michele. È comunque ovvio che, restando nel campo del cattolicesimo latino, ancor più prezioso sarebbe il preliminare studio dei santorali e dei culti, che stanno a monte anche degli agiotoponomi attentamente catalogati. Agiografia e liturgia sono qui essenziali. La studiosa procede comunque con lodevole prudenza nel dedurre significati dalle occorrenze onomastiche e, per esempio, giustamente rifiuta di dare particolare importanza al frequente agiotoponimo di Pietro. Per quanto poi riguarda le evidenze linguistiche il terreno è stato ampiamente dissodato dagli studi di storici come André Jacob e Jean-Marie Martin, di cui la studiosa fa ampiamente uso, associandovi le indagini di Cesare Colafermina sul versante ebraico¹³.

Nel rivolgere l'attenzione alle Apparenze, allo Stato (sociale, civico, professionale, etc.), al Ciclo della vita, come pure agli Aspetti di ritualità e delle pratiche devozionali, il commento della studiosa al proprio database nei suoi capitoli è denso e informativo, anche se qualche volta trapela qualche sorprendente ingenuità che sarebbe stato opportuno evitare: che nel caso dei mestieri (pp. 92-97) le iscrizioni ce ne rivelino l'attività (si cita l'esempio di un muratore del XIV secolo a Ceglie Messapica), oppure che, non esistendone documentazione, la si possa arguire dalla toponomastica (l'abitato di "Quattro macine" implica ovviamente l'attività di mugnai) si tratta di situazioni universali e consustanziali a ogni società rurale, che si tratti del Salento o di un abitato della Scandinavia. Così pure, trattando del Ciclo della vita, lo scrivere che "childbirth was one of the most dangerous moments in the lives of women and of their newborns" o che "newborns were swaddled for their protection, but of course they needed nursing to survive" (pp. 120-121) è superfluo.

Alla ricerca dell'"identità" ogni aspetto viene valutato sul triangolo sociale dei cattolici di rito romano, degli ortodossi e degli ebrei. Sarebbe co-

¹³ Segnalo quattro recentissimi articoli dello studioso belga, di cui la studiosa non ha purtroppo potuto tenere conto, esemplari per la corretta restituzione filologica (inerente date e significato) di testi epigrafici da lei citati: A. Jacob, "Deux réfections de murs d'églises salentines (Acquarica del Capo et Sanarica)", in *La parola del passato* 66 (2011), pp. 147-155; "Deux fragments de diptyques liturgiques byzantins sur ostraka découverts dans la grotte de Leucaspide près de Tarente", *ibidem* 67 (2012) [2014], p. 216-233; "L'iscrizione dedicatoria della cripta di S. Michele Arcangelo alla masseria Li Monaci presso Copertino in Terra d'Otranto", in *Copertino. Storia e cultura*, a cura di M. Greco, Lecce 2013, pp. 53-56; "L'épithaphe métrique du pretre Jean à Cerrate", in *Néa Póμνη. Rivista di ricerche bizantinistiche* 10 (2013) [2014], pp. 139-154.

munque stata utile in proposito una precisa informazione su quanto si sa o si può dedurre sulle consistenze demografiche, in termini assoluti e in termini percentuali, della comunità ebraica e sulle diverse densità abitative¹⁴. Ciò naturalmente non toglie, anzi accresce l'interesse per quelle osservazioni che, adeguatamente documentate, si rivolgono a comportamenti e pratiche che cattolici e ortodossi, cattolici ed ebrei, o tutti e tre i gruppi, svolgono in maniera simile o dissimile. Tale il caso degli "headstyles" e "women's head coverings" (pp. 76-84 e 111-113). Il supporto delle immagini, inesistente sul versante ebraico, permette anche di evidenziare la discrasia fra testualità e realtà 'quotidiana': se Nicholas/Nektarios a Casole e il metropolita Eustazio a Tessalonica ci offrono in ambito cristiano diverse posizioni, sottilmente elaborate sull'esegesi biblica, sembrerebbe anche che prescrizioni e regole, quali esse fossero e a chi si rivolgessero (dai sacerdoti e monaci alle donne sposate e nubili) rimasero largamente disattese. Le donne maritate infatti, per citare un caso concreto, avrebbero dovuto sempre avere sulla testa un velo, diversamente dalle nubili, ma almeno nella proiezione visuale e dunque verosimilmente anche in realtà ciò non sempre accadde. Che ciò, in alcuni casi, possa essere dovuto al fatto che si sarebbe trattato di immagini *post mortem* "paid for by family members to serve as indexes of family status and as pious exemplars for the faithful" (p. 112), è una interpretativa *lectio difficilior*, già avanzata in precedenza dalla stessa Safran, che potrà essere discussa, convalidandola o smentendola, con il confronto di altre immagini votive, almeno con quelle del meridione italiano del tempo.

Proprio il 'confronto' con le altre realtà territoriali, intra o extra regionali, è d'altronde un'esigenza cui l'A. non è interessata a priori, perché, come ricordato, rivolge il suo sguardo solo ed esclusivamente alla "microrealtà territoriale" salentina, con il corredo della documentazione guadagnata dalle conoscenze di altre discipline. Nel capitolo sul Ciclo della vita di cui si scelgono i momenti principali (dalla "Pregnancy, Childbirth, Nursing" al "Baptism and *Brit milah*" [la cerimonia della circoncisione], dal "Churching and Sabbath of the Parturient" allo "Schooling", dal "Bethrotal and Wedding" al "Death, Burial and Mourning") le immagini divengono di frequente del tutto accessorie, se non addirittura estranee, a un discorso che tuttavia non manca affatto di interesse: per esempio laddove riflette sulle "connections (...) between Christian baptism and Jewish *brit*" (p. 125), oppure discute sui riti matrimoniali dell'ortodossia e su possibili ascendenze

¹⁴ Una città di presenza ebraica particolarmente forte fu Oria, cui la Safran dedica molta attenzione. In merito si veda anche l'ultimo articolo, postumo, di Cesare Colafermina, "Inni sinagogali e usi penitenziali nella Puglia ebraica dei secoli IX-X. Il caso di Oria", in *Bizantini, longobardi e arabi*, cit. infra, pp. 29-316.

comuni con la pratica giudaica (pp. 128-132). Poiché la storia umana è tuttavia fatta anche di vicende e di comportamenti che la intersecano quotidianamente o frequentemente non sarebbe stato inutile dedicare qualche riflessione anche ad altri temi, fra i quali l'espressione dei sentimenti o della violenza, avendone a disposizione casi particolarmente significativi: la straordinaria immagine della coppia che teneramente si abbraccia, sul soffitto stellato della chiesa di San Michele arcangelo, oggi nella masseria Li Monaci (cui peraltro è stata dedicata una bella illustrazione a colori) (fig. 9) oppure la rappresentazione della tortura inflitta a s. Margherita, nella cripta a lei dedicata, dove colpisce per la sua rarità l'ostentazione della ripetuta nudità della santa (fig. 11)¹⁵. Oltretutto di questa scena la studiosa se ne sarebbe anche potuta servire laddove scrive dei "women's head coverings", sopra ricordati, dal momento che con il corpo totalmente nudo della santa contrasta la sua agghindata copertura del capo, non decoro superfluo, ma esplicita valenza visuale di quella verginità a difesa della quale la santa subisce il martirio.

La documentazione visuale assume maggiore valenza nei capitoli sulla Ritualità, dove l'A. mette a profitto del lettore la sua ottima conoscenza dei monumenti¹⁶. Largo spazio è dedicato, nel primo, sulla Ritualità negli

¹⁵ Per la prima se ne legga l'appropriato commento di M. S. Calò Mariani, "Echi d'oltremare in Terra d'Otranto", in *Il cammino di Gerusalemme. Atti del II Convegno int. di Studio (Bari – Brindisi – Trani 1999)*, a cura di M. S. Calò Mariani, Bari 2002 (Rotte mediterranee della cultura 2), pp. 238-239; per la seconda (dove la santa non ha nemmeno un lembo per coprirne il sesso), si veda l'illustrazione in *La Puglia fra Bisanzio e l'Occidente*, cit. [nota 11], fig. 109, oppure, meglio, a colori, in C. D. Fonseca, *Civiltà delle grotte. Mezzogiorno rupestre*, Napoli 1988, dopo p. 96. Mi riesce difficile condividere la casta lettura interpretativa di R. Tortorelli, "Il codice crypt. B β VIII e l'iconografia di S. Margherita di Antiochia, in *Agiografia e iconografia*, cit. [nota 12], pp. 185-198 e tavv. I-XII. Significativamente due delle figure dei carnefici sono state scalpellate.

¹⁶ Nelle verosimili more fra la consegna del testo all'editore e la sua stampa sono usciti alcuni libri o saggi, che vale qui la pena ricordare a integrazione della bibliografia: *Bizantini, longobardi e arabi in Puglia nell'alto medioevo. Atti del XX Congresso internazionale di studio sull'alto medioevo (Savellettri di Fasano 2011)*, Spoleto 2012; *Sancta Maria de Nerito*, a cura di D. De Lorenzis, M. Gaballo, P. Giuri, Galatina 2013 (ivi in part.: M. R. Marchionibus, "La Cattedrale di Nardò e la sua decorazione pittorica", pp. 119-140); G. Curzi, *Santa Maria del Casale a Brindisi. Arte, politica e culto nel Salento angioino*, Roma 2013; G. Perrino, *Affari pubblici e devozione privata. Santa Maria del Casale a Brindisi*, Bari 2013; *Agiografia e iconografia nelle aree della civiltà rupestre*, cit. [nota 12]; *Riflessi metropolitani liturgici, agiografici, paleografici, artistici nell'Italia meridionale. Atti della giornata di studi presso il Pontificio Istituto Orientale, 2010*, a cura di V. Ruggieri – L. Pieralli – G. Rigotti, OCA 296, Roma 2014, con particolare attenzione al testo di M. Berger: "L'influence de la liturgie et des commentaires mystagogiques sur les programmes iconographiques byzantins de Terre d'Otrante (XII^e-XV^e siècles)", alle pp. 11-45. Mi si permetta anche di ricordare un paio di miei saggi di qualche utilità per alcuni dei monumenti qui discussi: V. Pace, "Affreschi dell'Italia meridionale 'greca' nella prima metà del XIV secolo", in *Dečani et l'art byzantin au milieu du XIV^e siècle. Atti del colloquio internazionale (Belgrado-Dečani 1985)*, Belgrado 1989, pp. 109-120; "Iconografia di s. Nicola nell'arte medie-

spazi culturali, all'“iconografia” dei santi, dai vescovi dell'emiciclo absidale alle immagini sulle pareti, venendo qui ripreso e assai meglio contestualizzato l'aspetto delle scelte onomastiche introdotto inizialmente¹⁷. Per via delle immagini di supplica che figurano al margine di affreschi di evidente valenza votiva ritorna ed emerge qui con più incisività il ruolo dei committenti, in precedenza discussi solo per il loro stato sociale e adesso meglio contestualizzati alle immagini da loro volute. Il ritmo dell'anno, con il suo calendario, le processioni, i pellegrinaggi, oppure i rituali domestici, dal bagno al cibo, dai segni caricati di simbolismo, alle pratiche esorcistiche fino ai suoni, nella misura in cui se ne visualizzano gli strumenti o se ne hanno echi documentari, sono i temi del capitolo dedicato ai Rituali casalinghi o della comunità. A tal proposito, pur astenendomi dalla difficile discussione sulla valenza apotropaica di diversi simboli cui la studiosa ha dedicato diverse pagine (pp. 196-202) è tuttavia necessario osservare che l'A. ha preso una clamorosa svista interpretando una *manicula* di un tardo codice liturgico salentino (fig. 10), con l'esplicito indice puntato, di consueto usata dagli scribi medievali per indirizzare l'attenzione del lettore su specifici passaggi del testo, come un “amuleto” in forma di ‘fica’ (p. 200) e di conseguenza accreditandola di una valenza apotropaica!¹⁸

L'ultimo capitolo (“Theorizing Salentine Identity”) sintetizza lo studio e significativamente pone l'accento sul superamento del concetto di “Ethnicity” nell'esperienza salentina, esponendo sinteticamente tre casi esemplari di “interculturalità”: “The Otranto cathedral” (ma sarebbe stato meglio averne specificato “the floor mosaic”, perché solo a questo accenna), “The Andrano Hospital Stela” e “Santi Stefani at Vaste”. Ma per questa “intercul-

vale dell'Italia meridionale” (in russo, con riass. in inglese), in *Il buon nocchiero. Il culto di san Nicola nel mondo cristiano* (in russo: *Dobry kormchij. Pochitanie sviatitelja Nikolaia v christianskom mire*), a cura di A. V. Bugaevskij, Skinia, Mosca 2011, pp. 318-334 (p. 335 per il riassunto). La versione originale italiana di questo saggio, utilizzata per un successivo convegno e in seguito pubblicata in un volume miscelaneo di Atti senza che ne fossi a conoscenza, presenta imprecisioni e varianti pur minime rispetto all'edizione russa, mancando oltretutto dell'apparato illustrativo: V. Pace, “Iconografia di San Nicola di Bari nell'Italia meridionale medievale: alcuni esempi e qualche precisazione”, in *Sulla scia di Pantaleone di Nicomedia. San Nicola da Myra dal Salento alla Costa d'Amalfi: il mito di un culto in cammino*, Atti del VI Convegno di Studi, Ravello, 2009 – *I Santi Giorgio ed Eustachio Milites Christi in terra amalfitana*, Atti del VII Convegno di Studi, Ravello 2010, a cura di C. Caserta, Napoli 2012, pp. 75-84.

¹⁷ Sulla rappresentazione dei vescovi sull'emiciclo absidale cfr. adesso il mio: “Una rara presenza: I vescovi greci. L'iconografia e la devozione come aspetti della ‘maniera greca’”, in *Le Plaisir de l'art du Moyen Âge. Commande, production et réception de l'œuvre d'art. Mélanges en hommage à Xavier Barral i Altet*, Paris 2012, pp. 806-812.

¹⁸ È evidente dall'immagine, nitidamente riprodotta, che l'indice (della mano sinistra) è ‘puntato’, mentre le altre dita, pollice compreso sono tutte flesse. Perduta la valenza apotropaica della *manicula*, anche il vicino nodo di Salomone deve essere di conseguenza diversamente interpretato.

turalità", che la studiosa assume come paradigma dell'"identità" salentina meglio sarebbe potuto valere il ricorso al concetto di "convivenza", non soltanto antropologicamente meno impegnativo per la stessa diffidenza e opposizione che "identità" ha sollecitato nell'ambito degli studi più impegnati a definirlo o negarlo, ma anche significativamente sperimentato in situazioni analoghe, come nella Spagna islamica¹⁹.

Riflesso di questa "convivenza" è anche la scarsa o nulla attenzione ai 'marcatori etnici', una sola volta presenti nell'abbigliamento di un ebreo, torturatore di s. Stefano, nella chiesa di Soleto, ma altrimenti assenti nella definizione fisionomica (p. 217). I "diversi" — neri o asiatici, fisicamente deformi, moralmente rei — non sono qui menzionati e forse davvero non appaiono, se non in qualche interstizio narrativo dei cicli più recenti²⁰.

Il Salento emerge da queste pagine come una felice terra di convivenza, che ci propone un modello di riferimento, che purtroppo intolleranza religiosa, persecuzioni razziali, indiscriminati eccidi, del passato e del tragico presente, hanno dimenticato. Che la studiosa gli abbia dedicato questo libro è forse non solo un segno di amore per questa terra, ma anche di volontà e desiderio perché un tale modello torni a riaffermarsi: una speranza alla quale ci associamo e per la quale le siamo grati di questo studio, anche se per alcuni aspetti non trascurabili o per l'impostazione di metodo ho ritenuto qui necessario esporre le mie perplessità.

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¹⁹ Cfr. *Convivencia: Jews, Muslims, and Christians in Medieval Spain*, a cura di V. B. Mann, New York/NY, 1992. Si tenga presente che se il termine di Convivenza ha valenze esclusivamente positive nel suo campo d'azione sociale, quello di Identità è alla radice dell'Intolleranza! In proposito v. Remotti, *Contro l'identità*, cit. [nota 8], al cap. 3: "Identità e purezza: il germe della pulizia" (pp. 21-29).

²⁰ La storiografia italiana o, più precisamente, la storiografia sull'arte in Italia, ha finora rivolto scarso interesse a studi sistematici sulla rappresentazione del "Diverso" o dell'"Altro". È dunque una 'rarità' lo studio di F. Tonzar, *Genti diverse. L'iconografia degli "altri" nell'arte triveneta dei secoli XI-XIV*, Dottorato di ricerca in Storia dell'arte, XXV ciclo, Università degli studi di Udine, a.a. 2013-2014.

Uno splendido epilogo sui Kellia: *Kôm Qouçoûr 'Îsâ 1*

Quest'opera¹ può a ragione chiamarsi monumentale non solo per il suo intrinseco contenuto, ma anche perché costituisce la fine di un'impresa scientifica dell'équipe svizzera di archeologia copta iniziata mezzo secolo fa. Un'avventura che ebbe inizio da una visita organizzata da R. Kasser nel marzo del 1964 su iniziativa di A. Guillaumont, tesa alla scoperta di uno dei siti dei Kellia. Kasser ritorna un anno dopo con Guillaumont e constata, stendendo una prima pianta topografica, come il sito fosse effettivamente molto più esteso di quanto si supposeva. Da questa personale esperienza, nel novembre dello stesso anno, parte una spedizione interamente svizzera per localizzare, documentare e parzialmente scavare tre agglomerati monastici; il lavoro si intensifica in seguito, si da produrre quanto resta di fondamentale nella stesura topografica dei Kellia con i suoi kôms². La "zone des Kellia" (Qouçoûr er-Rubâ'îyât, Qouçoûr el Izeila e Qouçoûr 'Îsâ) riceve così una eccellente carta topografica con scale 1:20000, riprodotta, ma ridotta a 1:50000 nel presente volume. V'è da dire ancora che l'urgenza di questo intervento era causata anche dall'espandersi del piano agricolo nazionale che prevedeva l'irrigazione di questa'area geografica, già segnata dal canale el-Noûbârîa a SO del Delta³. Credo che non ci fosse stato quel tocco di "temerario" da parte di R. Kasser, motivato anche e soprattutto da una passione per la cultura copta, non avremmo avuto i preziosi precedenti risultati e l'attuale volume a conclusione di ben sei campagne di scavo. D. Weidmann (DW), che aveva partecipato alla prima campagna, è l'ideatore e fattore di molte lucide pagine investigative presenti in questo volume del 2013. L'opera è composta da sei capitoli e quattro appendici, seguiti dalla

¹ Denis Weidmann, *Kellia. Kôm Qouçoûr 'Îsâ 1. Fouilles de 1965 à 1978* (Recherches suisses d'archéologie copte IV), en collaboration avec F. Bonnet Borel, N. Bosson, P. Cherix, R. Kasser, C. King, M. Rassart-Debergh; préface de Ph. Luisier, avant-propos de R. Kasser, dossier graphique de G. Nogara et D. Sierro, coordination rédactionnelle et éditoriale Ph. Bridel, Louvain – Leuven 2013, pp. 470, con 68 planches di foto in bianco-e-nero e colori, portefeuille a parte con 12 planimetrie.

² R. Kasser, avec la collaboration de Sébastien Favre et Denis Weidmann, *Kellia. Topographie* (Recherches suisses d'archéologie copte II), Genève 1972.

³ *Kellia 1965. Topographie générale. Mensuration et fouilles aux Qouçoûr 'Îsâ et aux Qouçoûr el-'Abid. Mensurations aux Qouçoûr el-'Izeila* (Recherches suisses d'archéologie copte I), sous la direction de Rodolphe Kasser, Genève 1967, 7-11 e 13-23.

bibliografia e abbreviazioni. All'interno del testo si è ritenuto, e molto giustamente, una serie di figure che illustrano i soggetti in esame; alla fine del volume si trovano sessantotto *planches* di foto. Fuori volume, all'interno di una tasca, sono aggiunte dodici piante a colori, con scale 1: 100 (in formato ridotto queste piante entrano nella sintesi degli scavi offerta da DW, pp. 121-141).

Il *kôm* (= ammassamento di calcinacci, monticciolo di cocci) Qouçoûr 'Îsâ 1 (QIs 1) appartiene all'agglomerato monastico Qouçoûr 'Îsâ, un'area posta a est della zona dei Kellia. Grazie non solo alla sua antichità ed evoluzione costruttiva, ma soprattutto testimoniata da una serie di graffiti e *tituli picti* (EK, ENKAHCIAK KEΛΛΙΩΝ, EKKAHCIAC KEΛΛΙΩΝ — databili all'ultimo quarto di V — inizio/metà VI sec.: F. Bonnet Borel, "Les inscriptions", 359-363) che indicano la destinazione registrata sui manufatti, questo *kôm* attesta la centralità assunta da questa comunità monastica da ritenersi a sua volta una "unité appartenant à l'ensemble des Kellia". La designazione di Kellia (plurale di *kellion*) indica ovviamente un insieme di volumi isolati (celle), distinti nella funzione che vanno ad assumere singolarmente o, come accade, quando varie si relazionano creando una unità (anche un monastero). Nel nostro caso si ha, grazie agli scavi, l'evolversi di questa semantica di Kellia; si veda il *kellion* = l'ambiente S 129, originariamente luogo di produzione di stuoie, come si lega in seguito a S 144, 146 e 143 creando il primo originario nucleo di quattro celle; da un volume funzionale per una attività diventa un insieme plurifunzionale. In effetti, ed è una peculiarità istituzionale ed edilizia altamente interessante, il centro di culto (la chiesa) non appartiene alla fase iniziale dei Kellia. Il cap. I ("Le développement de l'ensemble monastique") ad opera di DW, è fondamentale per lo sviluppo e l'analisi delle varie tappe (nove nell'intera cronologia del sito) che partono dalla seconda metà del IV fino a tutto il VII sec. — si è praticamente a pochi anni dopo la fondazione dei Kellia da parte di Amoun su suggerimento di Antonio⁴. Il primo nucleo organico dedicato al culto (église 121, p. 33 e ss) appartiene alla seconda fase di QIs 1 in fieri, difficilmente databile con esattezza, ma rientrabile nella spanna di fine IV-primo quarto del V sec. DW offre inoltre un'analisi comparata con Qaçr Ouaheida (e la sua chiesa QR34), posta al limite occidentale della zona dei Kellia: anche qui QR34 non appartiene all'originale nucleo fondazionale del centro, sintomo eloquente dell'originaria natura anacoretica di questo

⁴ Opportuno il riferimento alle sobrie ed essenziali pagine di A. Guillaumont, "Histoire du site des Kellia d'après les documents écrits", in *Kellia I. Kom 219* (FIFA O 28,1). Fouilles exécutées en 1964 et 1965 sous la direction de F. Daumas et A. Guillaumont, avec la collaboration de MM. J.-C. Garcin, J. Jarry, B. Boyaval, R. Kasser, J.-C. Goyon, J. L. Despagne, B. Lenthéric et J. Schruoffeneger. Fascicule I, Le Caire 1969, 1-15.

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Il più consistente ampliamento del complesso monastico di QIs 1 si ha certamente nell'ottava fase della sua storia (pp. 89-101), quando i muri perimetrali raggiungono ca 70 × 70 m; siamo nel primo quarto del VII sec. L'impulso di ampliamento inizia già nell'ultimo quarto del VI sec. (settima fase costruttiva) con volte che raggiungono una luce di 7 m; con la distruzione dell'antica chiesa (121) si erige la nuova (42) che ospiterà l'altare dell'altra chiesa del centro (61). All'inizio del VII sec., dunque, QIs1 assume volutamente una forma monumentale: l'antico cortile 48 viene ridotto creando così un lungo porticato (S49/52) ad ovest della chiesa 42; l'allungamento ad ovest comporta una grande sala di riunione (S79), retta da tre pilastri con asse NS, che si collega al porticato; ulteriormente a sud della sala 79 si aprono una serie di vani per usi diversi (S80, 85) ed un gruppo (S81, 82, 86, 87) relativo a cucine e forno; ancora ad ovest, addossato al muro di cinta, un'entità di quattro ambienti, forse un modulo abitativo a

bibliografia e abbreviazioni. All'interno del testo si è ritenuto, e molto giustamente, una serie di figure che illustrano i soggetti in esame; alla fine del volume si trovano sessantotto planches di foto. Fuori volume, all'interno di una tasca, sono aggiunte dodici piante a colori, con scale 1: 100 (in formato ridotto queste piante entrano nella sintesi degli scavi offerta da DW, pp. 121-141).

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due piani. La pianta della fase 8 (dépl. 9), che mostra la piena organizzazione edilizia del monastero, evidenzia la centralità che i luoghi di culto, le chiese, stabiliscono nell'area monastica. Quest'area è circondata lungo i quattro lati da una larga serie di costruzioni adibite a svariati usi (benché vi sia stata un allargamento ad ovest, si noti tuttavia, che anche prima del finale abbandono vi sono vaste aree non edificate!). Anzitutto vi sono le "celle", con o senza oratorio interno; grandi cortili (70 e 48) antistanti le chiese (la 42 con banchetti in muratura all'esterno addossati ai muri ovest e sud) che immettono nei porticati (52 e 49) e nella sala (79); cisterne e pozzi; magazzini e ateliers; depositi e torre-rifugio; ingresso monumentale ad est (100); cucine, refettorio e forno, quasi sempre propinqui; celle per ospiti. La ceramica, la sua stratigrafia (usata anche all'interno dei muri) e tipologia è stata lo strumento per eccellenza, oltre a variazioni di tecnica muraria, nell'identificazione e datazione di questi ambienti; la numismatica, come si diceva, ha dato il suo contributo, ma sempre in modo relativo a causa della lunga persistenza delle monete di IV sec. DW mi sembra che abbia usato giustamente molta prudenza quando si trattava di pervenire ad una conclusione non totalmente corroborata dai dati archeologici. L'area dell'antica chiesa 121 ritorna ad essere occupata dalla nuova 42 verso la fine del VI sec. quando si era già costruita la chiesa 61 nella seconda metà del V sec. (il decoro ceramico indica la metà-3/4 del V sec.: Bonnet Borel 198-9). È interessante vedere lo spostamento dell'altare dalla chiesa 61 alla 42: forse perché quest'ultima marcava l'antica area della "chiesa dei Kellia"? La ceramica, i materiali di costruzione e la numismatica concordano attorno al 650 per l'ultimo tempo di pieno funzionamento del centro. Sul pavimento della chiesa 42, rimosso il colmo, si sono trovate monete di cui le ultime datate al 633-641. Mi sembra giusto l'aver posto solo come ipotesi lo spostamento attorno alla metà del VII sec. dell'antico altare presente nella chiesa 42 nella chiesa QIs 366 a circa 2 km NNE di QIs 1⁵. En passant si dica che QIs 366 ha consegnato due frammenti affrescati di volto umano (Kat. Nn. 24-25 della Leibundgut) di cui uno (n. 24, Taf. 23.1; qui foto 1) è stato analizzato anche con riferimenti all'icona sinaitica di Cristo, a volti di Bawît, S. Maria Antiqua ed di altri siti (pp. 79-83, T. 26.3-4). Mi sembra utile apportare in questo contesto due esempi di volto, provenienti dalla Licia, regione in stretto contatto commerciale con la regione del Delta. I volti denotano tratti stilistici molto simili (anche se cronologicamente gli

⁵ La chiesa QIs 366 è stata datata attorno al 650, cf. Gerhard Haeny und Annalis Leibundgut, unter Mitarbeit von Rodolphe Kasser, *Kellia. Kôm Qouçoûr 'Isa 366 und seine Kirchenanlagen* (Recherches suisses d'archéologie copte 5), Louvain 1999, 37-39, ma ha avuto uno scavo molto ristretto e solo sull'area chiesastica; cf anche nel nostro volume la fig. 35.

anatolici son da porsi nell'arco del VI sec.): foto 2⁶ e foto 3⁷. V'è un ultimo appunto da condividere con le conclusioni di DW. Pur vero che l'abba Phokas⁸ testimonia che "i Kellia hanno due chiese", ma porre l'ortodossa a QIs 1 e l'altra "scismatica", a dire monofisita, a QR 34 (prossima alla metà V sec.) è una questione che resta ipotetica. Appartiene all'ultima fase di vita il fenomeno cimiteriale che si constata nell'area di QIs 1, fenomeno che si riscontra contemporaneamente anche in QR 34: pp. 109-11. Le tombe sono fondamentalmente dello stesso tipo, orientate E-O con la testa ad O. Lo sviluppo delle sepolture s'è fatto soprattutto nell'area orientale del centro, occupando anche parte dell'area a nord della chiesa 42: è da ipotizzare che insorse la prassi di legare le sepolture con i luoghi di culto? (Cf. Annexe 2 di DW, p. 427, su un deposito di reliquie nel santuario della chiesa 61, e gli studi di laboratorio sui resti condotti da G. Perréard Lopreno – J. Desideri, 428-431: uomo giovane, morto attorno alla ventina). Questo finale fenomeno si sviluppa lungo tutto l'arco della seconda metà del VII sec.

La sezione dedicata alle testimonianze scritte è triplice: iscrizioni, ostraca, graffiti e *tituli picti* con EK, sigla già accennata precedentemente. Lo studio delle iscrizioni è dovuta a N. Bosson — che ha curato anche l'indice del vocabolario ed inventario — a P. Cherix e R. Kasser e comprende 154 epigrafi, di cui 59 dipinte su intonaco e 95 graffite (pp. 309-353). La lingua utilizzata è il copto (bohairico) ed in misura inferiore il greco; 76 iscrizioni, dato lo stato di rinvenimento ed esiguità dello scritto, sono incerte circa la lingua (la divisione per lingua data a p. 309 si differenzia leggermente dalla tabella di p. 310?). Le iscrizioni non apportano onomastica di rilievo, né sfortunatamente richiamano eventi salienti del centro; esse sono per lo più invocazioni, semplici preghiere, enumerazioni di nomi, forse anacoreti e/o visitatori e per scrivere ci si avvale del pennello colorato o semplicemente del graffito sull'intonaco. La cronologia arriva alla fine del VII sec., ma vi sono buoni esempi di VI, anche con bella scrittura echeggiante la calligrafia manoscritta (ad es. n. 17, in greco; n. 143, copta). La n. 17 (p. 322) è riprodotta anche in foto (pl. 49.6 come nel catalogo delle decorazioni, n. 55, p. 373): si tratta di pittura policroma su malta di calce. Se non vado errato il testo fotografato è diviso da una croce (?); qualora fosse, la trascrizione richiederebbe, dopo O ΑΓΙΟC a destra, ABPAAM accennato col braccio teso

⁶ Da Ölüdeniz, cf. Vincenzo Ruggieri – Matteo Turillo, "Considerazioni aggiuntive su siti dell'Asia Minore (Caria e Licia [TIB 8])" *OCP* 73 (2007) 117-140, foto 19 e Sh. Tsuji, "General Description of Archaeological Sites", in *Essays on Ancient Anatolia and Syria in the 2nd and 3rd Millennium BC*, ed. by H.I.M. Prince T. Mikasa, Wiesbaden 1996, fig. 7.

⁷ Da Cavour Kalesi, cf. Vincenzo Ruggieri, "Il sito bizantino a Karacaburun e i 'Sette Capi' (Licia). Rapporto preliminare 1997-1998", *OCP* 65 (1999) 279-305, foto 41.

⁸ Cf. apoftegma n. 926 in L. Regnault, *Les sentences des Pères du désert. Collection alphabétique*, Solesmes 1981, 318-9.

in alto in atto di sacrificare (su questa ipotesi, cf. gli appunto di M. Rassart-Debergh 402-3). Si nota, e non solo in questo caso, come la ω è sempre in alto rispetto alla rettrice; la ϑ è tonda ed ovale; la φ , υ , ρ allungano sotto la rettrice l'asta verticale, casi — e tanti altri — che denotano la varietà e qualità delle mani all'opera (dei locali e visitatori). I nn. 13-15 sono estratti dall'ambiente S33 (p. 94), la cui funzionalità è dubbia; esso, comunque, è un vano di comunicazione dal cortile nord (24) al grande porticato (52) che immette a sua volta sulla facciata ovest della chiesa 42. La cronologia di questa ristrutturazione appartiene all'ottava fase (inizio VII sec.) e segue di poco la costruzione della chiesa 42 (fine VI sec.), indice d'incremento di popolazione. In affetti, alla panca esterna dei muri perimetrali OE della chiesa 42 si aggiungerà la panca che corre all'interno della sala 79 sui muri NO; quest'area probabilmente era il carrefour di QIs 1 (questo fenomeno è riscontrabile ancora in Licia, con panche approntate dalla roccia lungo i perimetrali esterni e legate alle chiese: qui foto 3-4 nelle Churches 2 e 3 sull'isola di Gemile, di metà VI sec.). Si può ipoteticamente pensare che è in questo contesto architettonico che gli oratori ("les deux bouches" = ΠΙΡΟ CΝΑΥ [l'italiano "lingua biforcuta"?], citati per nome nella n. 13 (alcuni ricorrono anche nella n. 14) trovano il loro spazio per le dispute cristologiche? Viva la sincerità! Si potrebbe dire a proposito della n. 66 ("Il fratello Abramo [il] claustrofobo [o misantropo]"): un caso di sincero malessere spirituale e psicologico. Sono 8 gli ostraca pubblicati e molti i graffiti con EK o scritti con inchiostro su ceramica LRA1 con la segnatura di "chiesa" o "chiesa dei Kellia" (su anfora: pl. 64.1 datato al 450-475).

L'apparato decorativo di QIs 1 è analizzato da M. Rassart-Debergh, D. Sierro e DW — quest'ultimi due alle prese col catalogo, mentre la prima con l'evoluzione cronologica e gli aspetti tecnici ed iconografici (pp. 365-404). Il catalogo mostra l'usuale decoro policromo o a graffiti propri dei Kellia: diffusa è la fascia pittorica che abbellisce l'archivolto delle nicchie con segmenti circolari o segmentati quando la decorazione sovrasta il semicerchio. I campi sono riempiti con girali fitomorfi o bande geometriche. Va da sé che la croce campeggia, spesso gemmata (con iscrizione di vittoria in n. 32 e iscr. n. 16), con esempi anche ricercati (su podio, n. 68, fig. 172, appartenente alla chiesa 61); nell'oratorio S 23 si rinviene S. Mena con due cammelli — animale rinvenibile anche in altri casi decorativi — e S. Teodoro che calpesta il drago; un solo esempio, anche se ricercato nel disegno, di un battello (molti invece in QIs 6⁹). Le lucide pagine di M. Rassart-Debergh ripercorrono inizialmente le fasi cronologiche dell'apparato

⁹ Cf. *Kellia. Topographie* (Recherches suisse d'archéologie copte 2), par Rodolphe Kasser, avec la collaboration de Sébastien Favre et Denis Weidmann et al., Genève 1972, 138, fig. 151 e 140-142, figg. 154-160.



1



2







decorativo — sostanziali dalla metà V fino al termine del VII sec. — ma soprattutto pongono il decoro di QIs 1 all'interno di un'analisi comparativa con QR 195 e EK 8184/4, creando un orizzonte ermeneutico capace di valorizzare il motivo decorativo nella sede di rinvenimento. Le ultime pagine relative alla decorazione sono dedicate al pannello in *opus sectile* in vetro, presente nella navata della chiesa 61 (DW e M. Rassart-Debergh pp. 405-420). Si tratta certamente di un manufatto ricercato, di forma quadrata con 46 cm di lato, con perfetta simmetria degli elementi compositivi (solo la P dell'asta superiore della croce non risponde alla sezione inferiore); i colori impiegati sono il nero, beige, giallo, forse verde, turchese. Ricomposti i frammenti, manca solo la sezione e la banda superiore (fig. 208, pl. 65.1) per avere la completezza del pannello nel cui campo centrale è racchiusa la croce con il P superiore; il campo circolare centrale è a sua volta bordato da una leggiadra corona di alloro. Si tratta obbiettivamente di uno splendido pannello, un *unicum* all'interno di tutto l'apparato decorativo di QIs 1. Su ambo i lati della base son posti due piccoli "chandeliers" (o piuttosto calici?) che stringono due forme tondeggianti (pani?). Per la data di questa *crux monogrammatica* DW propone quella della chiesa, il terzo quarto del V sec. M. Rassart-Debergh, che si ferma sulla croce, prende in considerazione altri ben conosciuti esempi analoghi (dal santuario di S. Mena, la croce tenuta a Corning, forse dal Fayum), ma, l'A. confessa: "Aucune de mes explications ... ne me donne pleine satisfaction" (p. 417). Resta ovviamente la domanda irrisolta della provenienza: forse alessandrina? Qualora fosse, e credo che questa geografia alessandrina sia all'origine, sarebbe stato anche conveniente porre il manufatto, troppo ben studiato nei suoi elementi costitutivi, anche all'interno dell'orizzonte teologico della metropoli in quel tempo. Una linea interpretativa secondo questa direttiva avrebbe avanzato qualche reale significato ai "chandeliers" con le forme tondeggianti che, da parte loro, "spiegavano" la croce con altro significato. Mi riferisco ad una simbologia eucaristica, ritenuta non certa dalla Studiosa (p. 417), ma avanzata da Ph. Luisier nella prefazione al volume (p. 10). A chiudere il volume vi sono appendici firmati da DW: una relativa alle stuoie, cestini, materiali che uscivano dal lavoro monastico; un'altra sui resti animali e vegetali rinvenuti negli scavi; infine, molto utile, sul materiale di costruzione. La quarta appendice, già accennata, riguarda le analisi di laboratorio sui resti umani rinvenuti nel reliquiario della chiesa 61.

Il lavoro di scrittura ed organizzativo di DW ha raggiunto, credo, lo scopo prefissosi: un completo ed interdisciplinare studio della grande unità di QIs 1, portando così a termine quella intuizione temeraria avuta decenni prima da R. Kasser. Preme sottolineare ancora l'importanza dell'opera non solo nella sua intrinseca qualità e metodologia di approccio al fenomeno

“celliota”, ma ancora nella stimolante provocazione che queste pagine possono arrecare in una più vasta comprensione del fenomeno monastico del Delta. Non è difficile estrapolare la vita vissuta, non solo nei suoi aspetti lavorativi, ma anche in quelli liturgici e forse anche nel clima teologico avutosi dalla seconda metà del V sec.; questi ultimi due aspetti credo avrebbero dovuto avere qualche pagina in più vista l’espansione del centro dalla seconda metà del V sec. (il decoro) e exploit monumentale e demografico avutosi dal tardo VI fino a tutto il VII sec.

Pontificio Istituto Orientale

Vincenzo Ruggieri

RECENSIONES

AMBROSIO, Alberto Fabio, *Vita di un derviscio. Dottrina e rituali del sufismo nel XVII secolo*, Carocci editore, Roma 2014, pp. 241.

Ad Istanbul nel quartiere di Galata il cui nome deriva da un'antica colonia genovese, sul Corno d'Oro, oggi nota come Karaköy, si può visitare dietro un grande cancello verde l'antico *tekke* (convento) *mevlevî*, ordine sufi che trae il suo nome dal titolo di rispetto attribuito al suo ispiratore Celâleddin Rûmî (1207-1273). Il *tekke* di Galata fu costruito nel 1491 e venne a soppiantare lo spazio di un antico monastero bizantino dedicato a san Teodoro; le fonti sono unanimi su chi volle la costruzione, individuandolo in Iskender Paşa, ma difficile è ancora oggi capire chi fosse e che ruolo avesse nella città questo personaggio. Dalla fondazione del convento di Galata molti furono i maestri che si succedettero alla sua guida e molte furono le traversie che dovettero affrontare soprattutto con la diffusione di certe pratiche eterodosse come il *sema* (danza). Il sufismo è infatti, stato il bersaglio di opposti schieramenti e di rapporti altalenanti con il potere dei califfi ottomani, anche se sino ai secoli XVI e XVII vi era comunque una condivisione della visione sufi.

Durante il XVI secolo si avviò nell'Impero un vero dibattito riguardo i sufi e le confraternite che portò alla condanna a morte di *shaykh* sufi a causa delle loro convinzioni religiose e pratiche. Verso la metà del XVII secolo i partiti pro e anti-sufi si fronteggiarono apertamente con il risultato che entrare in un *tekke* era ritenuto un atto blasfemo. I due schieramenti s'identificarono nei personaggi che iniziarono questa contestazione: un predicatore Mehmed Kadizade, avversario delle pratiche sufi e Abdülmecid Sivâsî Efendi, *shaykh*, noto per alcuni commentari sulla dottrina sufi. Da principio il sultano sosteneva entrambe le parti, per ragioni differenti, senza schierarsi apertamente. Ciò che il sultano temeva dalle confraternite sufi era il loro potenziale sovversivo, pur riconoscendo nella mistica proposta dai sufi stessi una via equilibrata che si poneva come una sorta di barriera religiosa contro l'invasione sciita, soprattutto a sud-est dell'Anatolia. D'altra parte gli ottomani avevano come fine la conquista religiosa, come agli inizi dell'islam, sotto un'unica bandiera della fede e della pratica. Se il potere ottomano ha ceduto alle pressanti domande dei *kadizadelî* è perché l'immagine dell'unità simbolica del loro potere poteva essere compromessa. In questo contesto storico, affascinante quanto complicato, Alberto Fabio Ambrosio, autore di *Vita di un derviscio. Dottrina e rituali del sufismo nel XVII secolo*, costruisce magistralmente nei primi due capitoli del suo studio la cornice per contestualizzare Ismail Ankaravî quinto *shaykh* del *tekke* di Galata nato nella seconda metà del XVI secolo e morto nel 1631.

Ismail Ankaravî rimase per vent'anni nel *tekke* di Galata e si fece portavoce di un equilibrio minacciato da più fronti, evitando di essere polemico e critico verso

il potere politico: ci voleva una risposta chiara per non essere giudicati devianti dal carattere sunnita degli ordini sufi.

La vita e le opere di Ankaravî sono presentate nel terzo capitolo evidenziando quello che è considerato ancora oggi uno dei capolavori dell'autore *Minhâcü'l-fukarâ* (*La guida per il derviscio*). L'analisi delle pratiche sufi *mevlevî* descritte e spiegate in questo manuale è l'argomento del IV capitolo: Ankaravî fa implicitamente capire che la teoria soggiacente la pratica è più importante della pratica stessa, che dipende dall'impegno individuale. Ambrosio commenta il testo attraverso i suoi temi fondamentali: *La formazione dell'intenzione, I livelli d'intenzionalità, Il servizio divino, Sottomissione e obbedienza, Dottrina del vicario, Il mantello (hirka), La morte iniziatica e la lotta spirituale, La statica sufi, Il dinamismo, La convivenza.*

Nel V capitolo intitolato *Il sema tra codificazione e difesa*, dopo un'introduzione storica sulla danza estatica, Ambrosio commenta *Risale-i Hücetü'l-sema* un breve trattato composto di tre capitoli in cui Ankaravî attraverso delle prove basate sulla tradizione e le opere di alcuni classici della spiritualità musulmana, giustifica l'uso della danza. Ankaravî pone la sua difesa anche a livello giuridico a prova della conoscenza della questione non solo dal punto di vista teologico. Non è un manuale che descrive le tecniche della danza, ma piuttosto ne descrive il simbolismo: i dervisci di quest'epoca non avevano bisogno di un manuale per praticarla, poiché la tradizione era ancora ampiamente viva, è piuttosto un'esplicita risposta alle provocazioni e gli attacchi indirizzati alle confraternite *mevlevî*.

L'ultimo capitolo del libro è dedicato alla comprensione antropologica delle teorie dello *shaykh* di Galata; è un capitolo in cui si analizza a fondo il mondo simbolico delle dottrine sufi, l'analogia tra microcosmo e macrocosmo, la via circolare che pone il derviscio a progredire nella sua "via" ritornando sempre al punto di partenza ma ogni volta in modo approfondito, mai arrestandosi nel cammino della perfezione ma proseguire sino ad arrivare alla unica essenza che è Dio.

Alberto Fabio Ambrosio in questo suo bel libro, che è la traduzione dal francese della sua tesi di dottorato, pubblicata nel 2010, riscopre un autore, Ankaravî, poco conosciuto in Occidente e che rimane ancora oggi una figura minore negli studi sul sufismo, le cui opere qui commentate possono essere lette soltanto nei manoscritti che si trovano in vari fondi in Turchia. Vista la competenza linguistica e scientifica dell'autore ci auspichiamo che in futuro ci possa regalare anche un'edizione completa con traduzione delle due opere qui commentate di Ankaravî.

C. Greppi

DANIELUK, Robert – Bernard JOASSART (edd.), *Au service de la réconciliation des Églises. Jean Gagarin, Jean Martynov et Victor De Buck. Correspondance. Présentation, édition et commentaire par Robert DANIELUK et Bernard JOASSART* [Tabularium Hagiographicum 7], Société des Bollandistes, Bruxelles 2014, pp. 79 + [35] + CD ["Documents", pp. 83-1284].

Gli autori del settimo volume del *Tabularium hagiographicum* della Società dei Bollandisti, Padri Robert Danieluk S.J. e Bernard Joassart S.J., ci propongono l'ab-

bondante corrispondenza tra tre gesuiti del diciannovesimo secolo: il Bollandista Victor De Buck e due gesuiti russi, membri della Provincia di Francia, Ivan Gagarin e Ivan Martynov, che furono poi cofondatori della rivista *Études*. Gli autori del libro hanno notato un tema importante della corrispondenza tra i tre confratelli, quello della riconciliazione fra le Chiese d'Oriente e d'Occidente. Gagarin e Martynov nacquero nella Chiesa ortodossa russa, poi, entrarono a far parte della Chiesa romana e della Compagnia di Gesù, portando con sé l'aspirazione a vedere ristabilita l'unità della Chiesa. Questo fatto spiega il titolo del volume: *Au service de la réconciliation des Églises*.

Certo, non si trattava di ecumenismo nel senso in cui viene recepito oggi! Era piuttosto un tempo di Unionismo. Martynov e Gagarin erano contemporanei all'Unione dei Bulgari del 1860, e seguirono la sua evoluzione. Il barnabita Gregorio Agostino Šuvalov, loro contemporaneo, nel libro dove racconta la sua conversione al cattolicesimo, diceva anch'egli: "*Ah, ils reviendront*", cioè che i russi sarebbero tornati a far parte della Chiesa cattolica. Victor De Buck, attraverso le sue ricerche nel campo agiografico, affrontò il problema della divisione tra le Chiese e cercò delle vie per la loro riconciliazione, certo, mantenendo una fedeltà indefettibile alla fede cattolica, ma dimostrando una larga apertura, inconsueta in quel tempo, nel distinguere le cose essenziali da quelle secondarie nella ricerca di un riavvicinamento tra le tradizioni orientale e occidentale. De Buck consigliava ai suoi due corrispondenti russi di evitare nei loro scritti le espressioni che potessero ferire la sensibilità degli ortodossi. Ivan Gagarin, aderì alla Chiesa cattolica nel 1842 e fu ordinato sacerdote nella Compagnia di Gesù nel 1848. Egli desiderava che la Chiesa ortodossa russa si aprisse al mondo occidentale e ristabilisse il legame con Roma, pur mantenendo le proprie tradizioni e la propria organizzazione interna. Padre Gagarin convinse il suo confratello Ivan Martynov ad adoperarsi, anche lui, a cercare degli elementi che potessero contribuire a un riavvicinamento tra le due Chiese. La collaborazione tra i due gesuiti russi li porterà a iniziare insieme *L'Oeuvre des Saints Cyrille et Méthode* e a fondare la rivista *Études*.

La corrispondenza tra De Buck e Gagarin conta 355 lettere, che coprono un arco temporale di venticinque anni. Il lettore in questo modo è in grado di rivivere questo periodo storico attraverso il prisma della loro esistenza e partecipazione alla vita della Chiesa universale e delle Chiese particolari e soprattutto attraverso il loro sforzo per far evolvere un dialogo e nel ricercare mezzi di riconciliazione tra i due polmoni della Chiesa universale. Questo spiega il motivo della pubblicazione della corrispondenza e l'attualità del suo argomento. Della corrispondenza di Ivan Martynov e Victor De Buck, diventato anche lui cattolico e ordinato sacerdote nella Compagnia di Gesù nel 1851, sono rimaste 177 lettere. Lo scambio tra i due studiosi cominciò nel 1858. Martynov, come storico dell'Oriente cristiano, fu l'autore di un *Annus ecclesiasticus graeco-slavicus*, inserito nella collana degli *Acta Sanctorum*. Martynov e De Buck, per la loro competenza, sono stati chiamati a partecipare in veste di esperti al Concilio Vaticano I. Martynov svolse anche l'incarico di Consultore della Congregazione *Propaganda fide*.

GIGLIOTTI, Valerio, *La tiara deposta. La rinuncia al papato nella storia del diritto e della Chiesa*. Promessa di Carlo Ossola [Biblioteca della Rivista di storia e letteratura religiosa. Studi, 29], Leo S. Olschki Editore, Firenze 2014, pp. 468.

Avec la *renuntiatio* du Pape Benoît XVI, le 28 février 2013 [Si le Pape Benoît XVI rendait publique sa renonciation le 11 février 2013, celle-ci n'entrerait en vigueur qu'à partir du 28 février à 20.00 heures, après avoir quitté le Vatican et être arrivé à Castel Gandolfo], l'idée de la renonciation à la papauté est redevenue un objet d'étude, qui en soi n'est pas neuf, ni pour l'historiographie, ni pour le droit canon. Même si la *renuntiatio* est un exercice de la *plenitudo potestatis* de la part du Pape, l'Auteur met en lumière à partir du long parcours historique de cette institution deux interrogations : « quels sont les éléments qui constituent l'office duquel on démissionne et quelle est la nature juridique d'une telle démission ? » (Prologue XIV). La *renuntiatio* dont est protagoniste le Pontife Romain, est contenue dans le c. 322 §2/CIC 1983 : « *Si contingat ut Romanus Pontifex muneri suo renuntiet, ad validitatem requiritur ut renuntiatio libere fiat et rite manifestetur, non vero ut a quopiam acceptetur* ». Ce canon — qui préfigurait déjà au c. 221/CIC 1917 — est le fruit d'un long itinéraire formatif normatif en ce qui concerne la genèse de l'institut de la *renuntiatio*. Suivant un double critère chronologique et herméneutique l'A. divise cet itinéraire en quatre moments historiques. Le premier moment, appelé phase constitutive-définatoire, de 1180 jusqu'au 13 décembre 1294 (date de la renonciation par le Pape Célestin V), est caractérisé par l'extension de la discipline de la renonciation des évêques à l'évêque de Rome. Le second moment, appelé phase systématique-pubbliciste, de 1294 jusqu'au début du schisme d'Occident en 1378, est caractérisé par la préoccupation de définir le pouvoir papal sur le plan juridique. Plus particulièrement, il s'agit de la légitimité de la *renuntiatio* et de la *depositio* dans le cadre de la légitimation de la *plenitudo potestatis* de la papauté hiérocratique idéalisée par le Pape Boniface VIII, successeur immédiat de Célestin V. Au cours du troisième moment, de 1378 à 1449 (date de la renonciation du dernier antipape Félix V — Amédée de Savoie — et de la conclusion du schisme d'Occident), appelé aussi phase politico-fonctionnelle, la renonciation devient un moyen politique (la soi-disante *via cessionis*) afin de clore le schisme d'Occident. Toutefois, la *renuntiatio* jouera encore un rôle dans la conceptualisation de la *plenitudo potestatis* : tant pour modérer l'absolutisme papal par le biais de la participation à cette *postestas suprema Ecclesiae* de l'organe conciliaire que pour réaffirmer le centralisme papal monarchique après la fin du schisme. Le quatrième et dernier moment, défini comme mystico-pastoral, fut à peine inauguré par la renonciation du Pape Benoît XVI le 28 février 2013. Comme l'affirme l'A. : « le geste de Joseph Ratzinger, révèle un tournant ecclésiologique [...]; pour la première fois dans l'histoire de l'Église [...] le Pontife Romain émérite [...] assume un nouveau rôle pour le bien de l'Église, non plus avec les attributs de la juridiction et du pouvoir du Pontife suprême, Vicaire du Christ, mais par le biais du charisme silencieux du pèlerin et du pasteur au service du Peuple de Dieu, [ouvrant] ainsi au Pape qui a renoncé, la voie à une dimension d'une ministérialité inédite » (Prologue, XXII).

Cette nouvelle configuration de la *renuntiatio* fait l'objet de la réflexion canonique, «à laquelle la présente étude se propose de contribuer» (Prologue, XXI).

À propos, cette étude est plutôt une somme érudite et exhaustive qui a pour objet la fameuse *quaestio* de la *renuntiatio* : est-il consenti au Successeur de Pierre et Vicaire du Christ d'abdiquer sa propre charge ? Elle reprend la longue tradition historico-juridique de la renonciation qu'elle développe en trois parties terminant par la renonciation du Pape Benoît XVI comme 'nouveau dans la continuité'.

La première partie *Abdiquer du seuil de Pierre* (pp. 3-135) remonte aux origines de la renonciation par les Papes Clément, Sirice, Marcellin et Corneille et comprend la discipline de la renonciation papale contenue dans les sources juridiques des XII et XIII siècles. De l'éclectisme normatif du *Decretum* de Gratien sur la renonciation, on passe aux divers questionnements posés par les décrétistes : la controverse autour de la licéité de la renonciation en raison du *coniugium spirituale* indissoluble entre l'Église et l'Évêque de Rome, la détermination de la *iusta causa* de la renonciation pour le bien de l'Église (la décrétale *Nisi cum pridem* de Innocent III), la *humilitas* en tant que cause juste de renonciation, le débat sur la forme de la renonciation et la question de son acceptation de la part du supérieur, la dualité théologique et juridique entre *potestas ordinis* et *potestas iurisdictionis* et enfin l'efficacité de la renonciation.

La seconde partie, intitulée *Disputes théologiques, discipline juridique et sources littéraires en ce qui concerne la renonciation de Célestin V* (pp. 139-348), est la plus longue et la plus substantielle. Ici est abordé le cœur de la question de la *renuntiatio*, dont l'événement clé est la renonciation du Pape Célestin V en 1249 inspirant la Constitution *Quoniam Aliqui* du Pape Boniface VIII, qui à son tour sera la source directe des cc. 221/CIC 1917 et 322 §2/CIC 1983. L'A. démontre avec clarté comment le débat entre partisans et opposants de la *renuntiatio* se concentrait sur les points suivants : 1) le Pape comme titulaire de la *plenitudo potestatis* n'a aucun supérieur au-dessus de lui, sauf Dieu, auquel il pourrait remettre sa renonciation. La question du rôle du collège cardinalice ou encore du concile général dans l'acceptation de la renonciation se concentre sur l'option entre un modèle hiérocratique de la papauté ou un modèle plus collégial, en introduisant un élément de consensualisme dans l'absolutisme de la *potestas Papae*. 2) Si la papauté a un caractère indélébile, éternel à l'image du sacerdoce du Christ, le Pape ne peut pas renoncer ! Afin de dépasser cette objection de taille, on se rabattra sur la dualité entre le pouvoir d'ordre et le pouvoir de juridiction, d'une part le Pape, comme évêque ordonné, ne peut renoncer au caractère indélébile de l'ordre sacré, d'autre part sa *potestas iurisdictionis* peut augmenter ou diminuer. La papauté concerne l'étendue de la juridiction mais non celle de l'ordre (*Papatus est nomen dignitatis et officii*) et par conséquent on peut y renoncer. 3) La raison pour renoncer est basée sur l'*insufficiencia* pour gouverner l'Église universelle et s'enracine donc dans le bien commun supérieur (*utilitas sive necessitas*) de l'Église ; par conséquent le Pape peut renoncer au ministère pétrinien. 4) Le Pape peut-il le faire librement, de sa propre volonté ? Et enfin, 5) l'argument du *coniugium* spirituel entre l'évêque — y compris l'Évêque de Rome — et son Église, qui ne permet pas à l'évêque de dis-

soudre le lien avec son Église, celui-ci ne pouvant être dissout qu'avec la mort, tout comme le lien matrimonial entre conjoints. Cette deuxième partie se conclut avec un aperçu de la littérature sur le « Grand Refus » du Pape Célestin V (Ramon Llull, Jacques de Todi, Dante Alighieri et Francesco Petrarca).

Dans la troisième partie de l'ouvrage dédiée à *La dimension ecclésiale de la renuntiatio: du conciliarisme au pontificat de Benoît XVI*, l'A. se concentre sur la façon dont la renonciation des différents papes et antipapes au cours du grand schisme d'Occident fut considérée comme un instrument utile pour mettre fin à une situation de crise et de scandale dans l'Église: c'est-à-dire la renonciation comme *via cessionis* ou comme voie pour clôturer le schisme. Ainsi, ces renonciations sont bien différentes de la renonciation célestine motivée par l'*insufficiencia* de pouvoir gouverner l'Église universelle; en est la preuve le débat des canonistes autour de la remise en question par les papes et les antipapes de leur propre renonciation. A la page 385, l'A. évoque à juste titre que: « L'Église, après ce moment-là, n'aura plus à se confronter de manière concrète, au cours des six prochains siècles, avec ce *factum inauditum* qui avait tant impliqué et passionné durant plus de deux-cents ans l'élite intellectuelle la plus en vue en Europe, et cela jusqu'à irruption dans l'histoire de la renonciation du Pape Benoît XVI, le 28 février 2013, advenue sous le signe de la continuité juridique mais avec une finalité et dans un contexte ecclésiologique profondément nouveau comparé à celui de la papauté médiévale dont Félix V avait inauguré le crépuscule [...] ». Après un bref rappel des hypothèses de renonciation à partir de Pie VI jusqu'à Jean Paul II, même si Paul VI qualifia encore la renonciation comme « traumatisme pour l'Église », l'A. inaugure la quatrième phase mystico-pastorale du parcours formatif de l'institut de la *renuntiatio* en tant que *novitas* non plus *horrenda*, mais « certainement criblée de profondes conséquences ecclésiologiques et juridiques dans un contexte historique, théologique et ecclésial profondément différent comparé avec le Moyen Âge » (p. 387). Comparant la renonciation du Pape Benoît XVI avec celle du Pape Célestin V, « les traits, qui de premier abord caractérisent et relient les deux renonciations, sont nombreux et significatifs: de la teneur textuelle de la *declaratio* à sa prononciation en consistoire en présence des cardinaux, en passant par le désir de se retirer dans une vie de prière; ceci sont tous des éléments qui confirment [...] la parfaite adhésion de ce dernier *casus* à la tradition historique [...] » (p. 403). La renonciation de Benoît XVI est caractérisée par la dimension mystique du service à l'Église, qui transcende la simple dimension juridique de l'abandon du ministère pétrinien. Il s'agit d'une subordination de la *potestas* au *servitium*, ce fil conducteur relie la renonciation de Benoît XVI à la tradition médiévale. Cependant, émerge aussi une nouveauté, c'est-à-dire un nouveau ministère du Pape démissionnaire, motivé par la *humilitas* pour la *necessitas vel utilitas Ecclesiae*. Le devoir moral dont parle Benoît XVI dans son interview avec Peter Seewald et qui se manifeste lorsque le Pape n'est « plus en mesure physiquement, mentalement et spirituellement d'exercer la mission qui lui est confiée » [Benoît XVI, *Luce del mondo. Il Papa, la Chiesa e i segni dei tempi: una conversazione con Peter Seewald*, Città del Vaticano 2010, 53], se fonde sur les causes canoniques traditionnelles de l'*insufficiencia* de gouver-

ner l'Église en raison de la *debilitas corporis* (la vieillesse) et du *bonum Ecclesiae* (le bien de l'Église). Ce furent les deux motivations invoquées par le Pape Benoît XVI pour justifier sa renonciation, même si l'A. ne manque pas de souligner « un certain problème de conscience, peut-être dicté par les graves scandales auxquels était confronté le Pape Ratzinger » (p. 405). Toutefois, l'A. note « un signe extraordinaire de continuité avec la tradition précédente ainsi qu'une conformité avec la même pratique canonique médiévale » (p. 412) [Il faut néanmoins tenir compte de la nouveauté de l'entrée en vigueur de la renonciation différée au 28 février 2013 à 20.00 heures et donc d'une sorte de pré-vacance du Siège apostolique pendant les 17 jours écoulés entre la *declaratio* et son entrée en vigueur.] Si après sa renonciation, Célestin V retourna à la vie érémitique, Benoît XVI choisit de mener une vie cachée de prière tout en continuant ainsi à servir l'Église. L'A. décèle dans cet effacement de soi un *novus status* du Pontife qui va au-delà de la désignation théologico-potestative du *Vicarius Christi*, qualifiant la renonciation du Pape Benoît XVI comme une authentique « *renuntiatio mystica* » (p. 414). Ce *novus status* du Pontife Romain émérite se situe dans « un service au Peuple de Dieu qui ne sera pas de nature gouvernementale ou juridictionnelle [...] ni privée, mais mystique et spirituelle » (p. 432). Il s'agit en effet d'un nouveau ministère pétrinien dans la prière et dans la charité assumé par Benoît XVI, tout en transformant ainsi la *plenitudo potestatis* du Pape en une *plenitudo caritatis*. L'A. souhaite que la renonciation du Pape Benoît XVI puisse donner lieu à « un effort de réflexion juridique mais également ecclésiologique dans la continuité de la tradition » (p. 424).

G. H. Ruysen, S.J.

JOHNSON, Mark J., *The Byzantine Churches of Sardinia* [Spätantike – Frühes Christentum – Byzanz. Kunst im Ersten Jahrtausend, Bd. 38], Reichert Verlag, Wiesbaden 2013, pp. 224 [126 of text + 96 additional plates with many plans, line drawings, dozens of photos – some in color].

This is a very welcome study. It introduces us to the late ancient, early Byzantine and early medieval churches on the island of Sardinia (which, after "Sicilia," is the second largest island in the Mediterranean). Although the surviving monuments are overlooked, limited in number and spread out, the island offers good examples, especially of the cruciform and early domed building types, and gives amazing insights into the development of early Mediterranean provincial church building in general, especially during the reign of (p. 99) Emperor Justinian I (527-565) and after it. The aim here is to present a scientific and critical monograph that fulfils a long-standing desire, although the topic was touched upon and presented not very long ago in an art-historical volume [R. Coroneo & R. Serra, *Sardegna Preromanica e Romanica*, Milano 2004].

It has to be stressed from the start that this is a short study, numbering 106 pages of text divided, excluding the preface (pp. 1-8) and conclusions (pp. 101-106), into 7 chapters. The text is followed by a very detailed bibliography (pp. 107-126). The volume closes with an extensive, illustrated and informative image sec-

tion of 96 plates with many line drawings, building plans and many black and white and color photographs. The author here presents mainly detailed photos taken by himself from different perspectives and angles of the monuments which he took on his own trips and inspections of the island, which gives the reader a very authentic impression and is furthermore very welcome, because many hitherto published photos of some of the better known monuments in standard volumes and handbooks are outdated and do not give any idea of their present state of conservation. Johnson additionally assures us that he undertook measurement cross-checks of the hitherto published plans and sketches of all the monuments presented (p. 7) and displays his results mostly converted into the scale of "Byzantine Feet" (introduced on p. 17), labeled as "BF" in most of his plans and sketch-plans. Besides, we learn in the preface that Johnson (at present Professor of ancient and medieval architecture at Brigham Young University in Provo, Utah, USA) at an earlier stage of his life spent four months on the island and served as a missionary, which inspired him to deal with the topic. However the principal, basic and most important information on the monuments derives from Italian local research done on the island, mainly archaeological excavations carried out near and around the monuments in question, which were drawn up and published in a large number of Italian papers as part of Sardinia's "Heimatkunde" in past decades, as is indicated by the extensive and very impressive bibliography (pp. 107-126) and the summary of their results in this monograph. The first general look at some Early Christian monuments on the island and art-geographical comparison with other areas of the Mediterranean theater were carried out by the methodological classic, very inspiring and interesting pioneer study by E. H. Freshfield, *Cellae Trichorae and other Christian Antiquities*; vol. 1, London 1913, which therefore has to be mentioned here. Needless to say, large quantities of new scientific material, results and knowledge have emerged and come to light since then and have had to be reflected on, a task which was courageously performed by Johnson. On the other hand the methodological approach and chronological arrangement are not too strict here. After a short introduction (chapter 1, pp. 9-17, itself subdivided into sections entitled "History," "Ecclesiastical History" and closing with "Church Architecture") Johnson at first confronts the reader with the really stimulating question "The earliest domed churches: Byzantine or Late Antique?" (chapter 2, pp. 17-22), then passes on smoothly to the introduction of central domed churches, domed churches and the diffusion of cruciform churches (of different types) on the island (chapters 3-5, pp. 27-82), while the earliest form of the Byzantine church, naturally the standard basilica type (possibly because of the less interesting architectural impact) is dealt with towards the end in a penultimate short "Blitz" (chapter 6: "The basilica in Byzantine Sardinia," pp. 83-85). Here Johnson (p. 83) points out correctly that there is a limited number of known monuments and that many more of them should have been traceable on the island earlier; many of them were very probably built over later, which should or may stimulate future archaeological research in many villages (or other sites and findspots) on the island. It is interesting to add here that one of the structures presented (San Nicola in Donari, pp. 83-84) finds a

direct counterpart (only slightly larger in dimensions) in plan and layout on the Turkish West-coast, north of Bodrum. This is the late 6th / early 7th century three support (per aisle) basilica with a narthex [see A. Zäh, "Eine byzantinische Kirche zwischen Torba und Gölköy," *OCP* 63 (1997), pp. 147-153]. It is a well preserved similar basilica ruin with an upper gallery. In this area it has been detected that from such a plan two building variants (for their upper construction) may emerge: basilicas with and without upper galleries. See also V. Ruggieri, *La Caria Bizantina*, Soveria Mannelli 2005, pp. 145-165. So because of this one might assume that San Nicola once formed a smaller monastic complex. The study closes with chapter 7 and an excursus on the general spread of cruciform churches (arranged according to type): "The cross-plan church in Early Christian and Byzantine architecture," which seems to be too short also (pp. 87-98). Last but not least the writer of these lines who first went to Sardinia at the age of 10, felt honorably delighted when he completely unexpectedly discovered that he had been quoted here, with an extract from a modest paper of his which he wrote a very long time ago at a very early stage in his own career, about the interesting typological cruciform Early Byzantine church (or what was initially a mausoleum) of Hosios David in Thessaloniki, an edifice which underwent substantial changes in the Middle ages (p. 96, n. 48). But since then (unnoticed by Johnson) I have continuously made up my mind about the spread and the generation of the possibility of certain newly "invented" Byzantine church types as well as typological questions of the monuments in question and tried to follow their path especially in a larger Oriental (Asia Minor) and now also an African context, reflecting and assembling new examples of widespread types, which are also present on this particular island. The important example of San Giovanni di Sinis (pp. 47-55) played an especially important role (second building phase, p. 53) in some of my last papers for typological reasons, serving as a representative of the church type of "basilica annexed with a domed room." [To this group also belongs the closely related structure of Sant'Antioco, 4th building phase, 7th century, see plan: Plate 31 (Fig. 4.19) and compare p. 45, suggesting that the building was inspired by San Saturnino in Cagliari.] This gives me the opportunity to mention briefly my typological results here which were also laid out quite recently [see: A. Zäh, "How is Nubian church architecture linked with the Near East, Armenia, Europe and with other African examples?," *OCP* 79 (2013), pp. 355-366, fig. 1 (A)]. Nevertheless, I have to agree fully with Johnson's three main conclusions (pp. 99-106), which were drawn by me too, although dealing independently with the same topic and questions: 1st: the "strong architectural ties to the Eastern Mediterranean" (p. 99); 2nd: the treatment of the question "how widespread [exactly was] the use of this particular architectural form [domed cruciform churches] in the Christian world [sic!] of the fourth century onwards [?]" (p. 103); and finally 3rd: "What comes next?" (p. 105) in stimulating urgent further archaeological research on the island. What Johnson's volume again makes clear is that in a Byzantine province, especially even further away from its larger urban centers, i.e. on the Byzantine mainland and dominions, certain new developments departed from the norms of standard church building. Alterations in smaller di-

mensions of strict three aisled basilica types (which were continuously built on as a conservative feature and type) were developed quite early and led to the establishment of sometimes different, sometimes hitherto unique and new altered forms, such as basilicas added with central domed rooms (or *vice versa*: center-domed room compartments extended with basilical structures to the West in later building phases, like San Giovanni di Sinis), and the erection of domed central structures. These types and variants at some point from the 6th century onwards, were frequently built in the so called dark ages until the final establishment of the genuine *Kreuzkuppelkirche* (a smaller cross-domed-church with 4 free standing supports, like pillars or columns) around the turn of the 9th to the 10th century (apart from a type not present at all in Sardinia). This is explainable, because this was a time when direct Byzantine domination and influence on the island slowly vanished and came to an end. The exact date of the abandonment of Byzantine rulership over the island is disputed, although some historical evidence suggests that at least some Byzantine government officials were present on the island in person until some point in the 10th century (see p. 11). To assume a properly established Byzantine rulership in this era, from the art-historical standpoint, one would expect to discover (so far non-existent) genuine cross-domed-churches here, as is the case in the former other Byzantine dominions in Italy, today's regions of Apulia and Calabria (which undisputedly remained important Byzantine territories at least until the 11th century), but not Sardinia. It is very remarkable that from the 10th century onwards and in the Romanesque era none of those interesting, quite sophisticated and intriguing provincial Byzantine church building developments, which are present in Sardinia itself, were adopted or developed further (e.g. by local architects) and that the island's church architecture more or less returned to the simple standard three-aisled basilica building in the Middle Ages, showing innovative elements only through their façade decoration concepts and their sculptural decoration. So if we take J. Strzygowski's famous crucial stylistic question and battle cry "Orient or Rome?" into adopted and friendly consideration, this struggle was clearly decided "pro the Occident" on this island in the later Middle Ages.

This book is a very valuable and reliable summary and also a literature guide and compendium of what we know (and that is important) at present about the island's Byzantine churches. It might also serve as a useful travel companion. Furthermore, this volume should hopefully stimulate further international scientific co-operation, art-historical and archaeological research on this remarkable island.

A. Zäh

LOOSLEY, Emma, *The Architecture and Liturgy of the Bema in Fourth- to Sixth-Century Syrian Churches*, Leiden – Boston 2012, pp. xviii + 287 con 219 foto in bianco-nero.

Questo libro apparve per la prima volta a Kaslik, Libano, nel 2003 e rappresentava il lavoro di dottorato di E. Loosley felicemente conclusosi; l'attuale opera

si presenta come una nuova edizione, visto anche l'impatto che l'opera ha avuto nella sfera degli studi architettonico-archeologici e liturgici relativi alla geografia ecclesiastica della Siria del Nord. Vien quasi di dovere riconoscere anzitutto due qualità a quest'opera: a) l'aver documentato monumenti che lentamente stanno scomparendo, se non forse quasi del tutto scomparsi nell'attuale vortice di violenza e distruzione che sconvolge quella geografia; b) l'uso fatto dall'A. di un approccio metodologico interdisciplinare, a dire l'apporto non solo della archeologia/architettura, ma anche della liturgia che nell'edificio trovava la sua celebrazione. Se la prima qualità si riallaccia all'opera tarda di G. Tchalenko (*Églises syriennes à bēma*, Paris 1990; l'A. ha rilevato altri *bēma* oltre al quantitativo raccolto da Tchalenko) che, al tempo, ci teneva a sottolineare la natura prettamente storico-architettonica del suo lavoro, la seconda invece parte da una constatazione più che evidente, la ritualità liturgica che richiedeva l'uso di questo peculiare apparato architettonico. Il nucleo argomentativo del libro si basa su tre piste di ricerca: i reperti archeologici e la loro specificità; discussione sulle fonti scritte relative all'esistenza e uso del *bēma*; la liturgia siriana con riferimento al *bēma*. A questo seguono tre utili appendici relative alla lista, alla datazione, alla distribuzione delle installazioni. L'ultima sezione riguarda una silloge fotografica di tutti i *bēmata* con scheda introduttiva sulle rispettive chiese che li contengono. Si dica subito che quando l'A. parla di *bēma* si riferisce ovviamente al dispositivo architettonico posto quasi al centro della navata centrale della chiesa, avente una forma "a ferro di cavallo" (la più usuale), oppure leggermente trapeziforme o rettangolare. L'apparecchio murario di contorno lo separava dalla navata, facendone uno spazio sacro, riservato ai chierici; il *bēma* era volto verso l'area del santuario da cui lo separa un passaggio (*šqāqone*; un equivalente del *solea* bizantino) che immetteva sui gradini (*qestromā*) di accesso al santuario. È, dunque, evidente che questo dispositivo architettonico solo da lontano sembra richiamare l'ambone [una più attinente bibliografia e disposizione dell'ambone in ambito bizantino è rinvenibile nelle pagine di A. Acconci, *OCP* 68 (2002), pp. 51-56] che invece svolge ben altra funzione [sarebbe stato interessante interrogarsi sulla "κάθω καθέδρα, cattedra di sotto" usata dal patriarca nella vigilia dell'Epifania posta nella navata centrale e presso l'ambone divenendo un "trono episcopale," vedi J. Mateos, "Le typikon de la Grande Église" (*OCA* 165), Roma 1962, p. 176; per un'epoca forse posteriore, stimolanti anche le pagine di A. Jacob, "Les prières de l'ambon," *Bulletin de l'Institut historique belge de Rome* 37 (1966), pp. 17-51, e dello Stesso, "Où était récitée la prière de l'ambon?," *Byzantion* 51 (1981), pp. 306-315].

Il lavoro dell'A. mette perfettamente in luce la presenza e l'importanza del *bēma* all'interno della sinassi eucaristica, soprattutto nella fase iniziale di questa, e sottolinea una comunanza liturgica, di rito, all'interno delle comunità cristiane del Massiccio Calcario e della Siria Prima con casi interessanti che fuoriescono da questa geografia. L'analisi messa in atto è minuziosa, attenta e prudente quando si tratta di tirare delle conclusioni. Che Antiochia sia stato il centro propulsore nella formulazione della liturgia — e del suo apparato architettonico — è ben evidenziato, come anche l'espansione verso le comunità di lingua siriana più ad est (Edessa, Tur 'Abdin, Mesopotamia). Sarebbe stato estremamente utile per il lettore avere

una cartina geografica che mostrasse il cammino e la presenza del *bēma* in questa geografia dalla forma allungata verso est. Trattandosi inoltre di un'opera ove l'archeologia e l'architettura giocano un ruolo fondamentale, credo che uno specifico apparato grafico relativo alla forma della chiesa (si cita solo la pianta, senza ridarla, di una chiesa caldea proposta da Jammo in *OCA* 207 (p. 56), diversa nelle sue proporzioni da quelle prese in esame in quest'opera), come alla rappresentazione del *bēma* e dei suoi componenti strutturali sarebbe stato altamente auspicabile. In effetti, stando alle piante di Tchalenko (pp. 242-250) si nota immediatamente come l'intersezione delle due diagonali della navata, o dei *pastophoria*, segna il luogo dell'impianto del *bēma*, a dire come questo dispositivo aveva un ruolo altamente significativo per tutta la durata della sinassi e dell'ufficio delle ore. È questo sarebbe particolarmente importante, considerando come l'A. sottolinea molto bene il carattere parrocchiale-episcopale della chiesa in discussione (il *bēma* non compare nelle chiese monastiche). Giustamente si fa menzione della Liturgia della Parola, attuata nell'area della piattaforma, ma il *bēma* serviva anche come introduzione al santuario quando la Liturgia della Parola era terminata. L'A. ha fatto ottimo uso dei commentari liturgici e di fondamentali saggi relativi al dispositivo liturgico, ma non si constata nessun accenno *all'anafora in uso*. Vien da supporre che sia un'anafora siriana — Antiochia aveva anche quella greca di S. Giacomo — ma stranamente non si analizza mai il testo e le relative rubriche presenti in alcuna delle anafore siriane (cf. *Anaphorae Syriacae* edite dal Pont. Istituto Orientale). All'interno della lettura simbolica presente nella liturgia siriana (p. 88 e ss.), e mi riferisco al momento pre-anaforico, credo che il termine medio fra il *bēma* e il santuario — e qui trova anche senso interrogarsi sugli schemi grafici delle chiese marcate da Tchalenko — sia dato dalla *oratio veli* presente in questo rito come in quello bizantino [cf. V. Ruggieri, "La barriera presbiterale e il *templon* bizantino", *Bizantinistica* 10 (2008), spec. pp. 34-38; per l'Ufficio delle Ore vorrei qui segnalare le forme rubricali presente nelle analisi di J. Mateos, *Lelya – Šapra* (*OCA* 156), Roma 1959, e S. H. Jammo, "L'office du soir chaldéen", *L'Orient syrien* 12 (1967), pp. 187-210]. È fuori dubbio che quanto l'A. raggiunge è perfettamente vero: le chiese da lei analizzate sono intimamente legate dall'apparato architettonico-liturgico e che questa presenza testimonia in gran parte in esse l'uso di uno stesso rito liturgico.

Come si diceva all'inizio l'impresa dell'opera è altamente notevole e pregevole per i risultati raggiunti. L'A. è conscia d'altronde che un soggetto come questo ha bisogno di ulteriore ricerca e maggiore compenetrazione delle discipline nell'analisi di un fenomeno che tocca l'evoluzione non solo di una architettura, ma anche della stessa liturgia distinguibile già nel IV secolo e fondamentalmente stabilita nel VI. Le foto dei monumenti offerte nella seconda parte del volume sono utili (un maggior contrasto nella resa di stampa sarebbe stato conveniente per la lettura dei dettagli architettonici e scultorei, tipo pilastri, capitelli, tecnica muraria); manca una planimetria delle chiese per meglio situare le foto. Mentre nell'edizione del 2003 le foto relative a Qalb Lozeh sono esatte nelle didascalie, quelle presenti nell'edizione sotto analisi (nn. 176-181) sono da reimpaginare; le foto 111 e 114 sono uguali.

KESSEL, Grigory – PINGGÉRA, Karl, *A Bibliography of Syriac Ascetic and Mystical Literature* [Eastern Christian Studies 11], Peeters, Leuven – Paris – Walpole 2011, pp. 224.

In the introduction to their *Bibliography of Syriac Ascetic and Mystical Literature* the editors Karl Pinggéra (Professor of the History of Christianity at the Philipps-Universität of Marburg) and Grigory Kessel (researcher at the same university) state *tout court* that the idea of writing this book came to them when they “felt the need for a listing of literature in this field of research” (*Preface*). Since any scholar in any discipline is well aware of how long it takes to collect the necessary bibliography, there is no doubt that everyone interested in Syriac spirituality will praise the editors for their choice in publishing the results of their labor. For practical reasons Kessel and Pinggéra (no individual contribution in data gathering and management is specified) deal only with extant texts known from available publications and they appropriately mention neither texts, which are known to have been written but did not survive, nor unedited texts without pertinent studies.

The first part of the short “Introduction” deals with the character and significance of spirituality in Syriac cultural transmission. Although not all Syriac literature was religious in character, it is true that works on biblical interpretation, theology, liturgy, and hagiography certainly outnumbered those on other subjects. However, since unification with God cannot be reached just by means of reading, ascetical apprenticeship is just as fundamental to reaching spiritual perfection. Therefore, an extensive discussion on the achievement of mystical experience through ascetic practices involving fasting, abstinence, self-discipline, self-renunciation and prayer, developed within the Syriac Churches over the centuries, and this *Bibliography* is an accurate repository of that fruitful tradition, which has to be regarded, in the words of the editors, “as the richest among the Christian oriental traditions” (*Bibliography*, p. 2).

The main content of Kessel and Pinggéra’s *Bibliography* is arranged in two parts. The first part is entitled “General Literature” and devoted to some particular subjects, namely “Collections of texts,” “Introductions and surveys,” and “Particular Topics” (“Syriac Proto-monasticism”; “Monastic anthologies”; “Mystical experience”; “Messalianism in the Syriac tradition”). The second part lists the works of fifty-nine relevant mystic and ascetical authors belonging to the Syrian Orthodox Church and the Apostolic Church of the East (with the sole exception of the Chaldean Patriarch Joseph II), whose works also circulated widely among Maronite, Melkite and later uniate churches.

The oldest ascetic Greek texts translated into Syriac were two *Epistles on Virginity* by the Pseudo-Clemens of Rome (3th cent.). As evidenced by the *Bibliography*, these epistles attracted the interest of scholars ever since the Swiss theologian Johann J. Wettstein first published their texts and translations as an appendix to the New Testament edited in Leiden (1752) and the Venetian patristic scholar Andrea Gallandi re-edited them in the *Bibliotheca veterum patrum* a few years later.

The first great Syriac ascetical and mystical works date to the fourth century

and include the writings of the most famous Syriac authors Ephrem and Aphrahat. However, the bibliography on Ephrem of Nisibis, unanimously considered the best representative of early Syriac Christianity, has been excluded from this volume since the massive literature centered on his lyrics, poems and biblical commentaries has been recently updated by Kees den Biesen, *Annotated Bibliography of Ephrem the Syrian* (2011 new edition). As to Aphrahat 'the Persian Sage', the list of articles and works pertaining to his twenty-three *Demonstrations* occupies nearly six pages of the *Bibliography*, although the older studies do not go back to the second half of the nineteenth century and interest in the sophisticated writing of Aphrahat has grown notable only in the last thirty years.

Considerable interest has been attracted also by the anonymous collection of thirty sermons on Christian perfection conventionally known as *The Book of Steps* or *Liber Graduum*. The long list of studies in the *Bibliography* shows how scholars proposed different readings and interpretations of this text written in the late fourth or early fifth century by an author who may have lived in the Persian Empire.

The period from the fifth to the seventh century is commonly considered the golden age of Syriac literature despite the schism that split the Syriac Church into two major factions — 'Jacobite' in the West and 'Nestorian' in the East — following the First Council of Ephesus (431). From then the Christians of the Persian Empire were separated from their Western counterpart and Ctesiphon, which was at the time the Sassanid capital, became also the seat of the Church of the East. This partition weakened Syriac Christendom but did not affect the substantial strength of the religious culture of both the parties. Despite their relative seclusion, the East Syrian authors played a great part in the elaboration of advanced mystical forms. Early in the second half of the sixth century, Babai the Great (ca. 550-628) stood out as a prominent figure in the Church of the East. As Abbot of a monastery on mount Izla (Southeastern Turkey), he carried out a monastic reform movement and developed a systematic Christology as well. Unfortunately, none of his exegetical works survived and we only know this author thanks to a few homilies and commentaries on mystical themes. The best known writer of the East Syrian Church, however, was the seventh-century mystic Isaac of Nineveh. His works were translated into Greek in Mar Saba monastery, Palestine, as early as the eighth century and then into Arabic (both from Greek and from Syriac). By means of Georgian Slavonic and Latin translations from Greek, his words were then adapted into many modern European languages and were widely read in monasteries of all traditions. The fame of Isaac's words is witnessed to by the approximately twenty pages the *Bibliography* devotes to the many studies, ranging from the first edition of two of Isaac's treatises by Ignaz V. Zingerle in 1869, to a number of forthcoming studies and critical editions in preparation.

The fertility of East Syrian ascetical and mystical authors did not cease in the sixth and seventh centuries, as the list in the *Bibliography* attests (i.e. Abraham of Nethpar, Babai of Nisibis, Sahdona, Aphnimaran, Dadisho Qatraya, Enanisho, Hnanisho of Beth Qoqa, John bar Penkaye, and Simon of Taibuteh). In the eighth

century, two controversial East Syrian authors emerged: John of Dalyatha and Joseph Hazzaya. On their writings, the Patriarch Timothy placed a ban due to their alleged proximity to heretical positions on Messalianism and Origenism. This interdiction resulted in oblivion or distortion of their works and even of their names until recently. As a matter of fact, we knew them by means of the Jacobite scribes who first preserved the literature of the Nestorian mystics by quoting, commenting, criticizing, or even disguising their theses with alterations and interpolations. Thanks to them, we cannot only glimpse otherwise unknown authors, but also understand how great was the knowledge and dissemination of religious debates within Syriac Christianity.

The West Syrian community was also largely responsible for the spread of Greek culture in the Near East. Starting from the fifth century, the connection between Syriac religious literature and Greek Christian culture grew closer and stronger. The great task of translating into Syriac the works of Greek Fathers, as well as of Peripatetic philosophy, reached its peak and Greek influence on Syriac prose and poetry became more and more noticeable, to the extent that both style and thought patterns were affected. The transmission of Greek learning was vital to the preservation of its knowledge in a wide range of fields, including the Church Fathers' theological and doctrinal works. The fruitful relationship between Greek mystical forms and Syriac spirituality is seen in the *Bibliography* under names such as Ammonius, Athanasius of Alexandria, Basil of Caesarea, Gregory of Nyssa and Evagrius Ponticus. Time and again, modern patristic studies have been able to appreciate the Syriac contribution to the knowledge of Greek authors whenever the original Greek texts are lost or the extant copies are more recent than the Syriac ones. One of the most skilful translators was Sergius of Resh'aina (d. 536), who put into Syriac many Aristotelian texts as well as the corpus of the Ps. Dionysius the Areopagite. The so-called Ps. Dionysius (5th-6th cent.) was himself a West Syrian mystic who wrote in Greek, and his work influenced both the Western and Eastern Christian world in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance.

Many original West Syrian writers emerged during the golden age of Syriac literature and a number of ascetic and mystical books were produced. One of the earliest authors in this field was John the Solitary of Apamea, a theologian who wrote treatises, dialogues and letters of a spiritual nature that aroused the interest of scholars, as attested by the fifteen pages the *Bibliography* devotes to him.

Equally influential was the *Book of the Holy Hierotheos* attributed to Stephen bar Sudaili (early 6th cent.), which gained leverage on Syriac mystics throughout the Middle Ages and piqued the interest of many scholars even in recent times, as evidenced by the titles listed in the *Bibliography*. One of most renowned authors, the West Syrian bishop Jacob of Serugh (d. 521), was a writer with a strong mystical intensity and wrote a corpus of more than seven-hundred verse homilies, besides expositions, letters and hymns. In the field of theological literature, a remarkable harmonization of Syriac and Greek tradition was offered by another West Syrian bishop, Philoxenos of Mabbug (d. 523), who was one of the leading writers of his time, and a strong opponent of the heresy of the Messallians.

In the first half of the seventh century, however, the connecting link with the Greek-speaking world ceased after the Muslim invasion of the Near and Middle East. According to the entries of the *Bibliography*, John Climacus (6th-7th cent.) was the last spiritual Greek author to be translated into Syriac. From then on, Syriac Christians were gradually cut off from the Byzantine Empire and lost their contacts just when the Syriac culture was at the highest stage of Hellenization of its history.

From the beginning of the Mongol period (13th-14th cent.), Syriac culture revised and elaborated itself in an ever more encyclopedic form. The most famous writers of this period were *polymathes* like Dionysius bar Salibi (d. 1171) and Barhebraeus (d. 1286). The latter, in particular, virtually wrote on every aspect of human knowledge of his time, such as theology, spirituality, philosophy, history, medicine, grammar, and also *fabulae*. The *Bibliography*, of course, only deals with main editions and translations of Barhebraeus' spiritual writings, namely, *Ethikon*, *The Book of the Dove* and the *Liber de pueritia mentis*. For a complete list of his works, Hidemi Takahashi's *Barhebraeus. A Bio-Bibliography* (Gorgias Press, Piscataway, NJ 2005) is recommended as the most comprehensive tool.

Although the Syriac language had been increasingly replaced by Arabic, it did not die out completely. The *Bibliography* lists a small number of leading figures — namely the Patriarchs of Tur Abdin 'Aziz b. Sobto (d. 1481) and Mas'ud (d. 1512), and the Chaldean Patriarch Joseph II (d. 1713/14) — who wrote in Syriac even after the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople (1453).

Finally, the volume by Kessel and Pinggéra proves itself a helpful tool for students and scholars. It is clearly organized and each entry is arranged according to a rigid schedule: first the editions (if available), then translations and secondary literature arranged in chronological order. "Dubia" and "Spuria" follow, if it is the case. Among its many pros, I would also mention the "Index of Manuscripts" added at the end of the volume and the meticulous attention to the Medieval translations of Syriac texts into other languages.

Although bibliographies on Syriac studies in general have proliferated in recent years, and accurate bibliographies for single authors and topics have been compiled, this text is undoubtedly a fresh and handy source of information for those who are interested in the realm of Syriac spirituality.

E. Braida

KOLLAMPARAMPIL, Thomas – JOSE NANDHIKKARA – SEBASTIAN PAYYAPPILLY – MATHEW MANIAMPRA (eds.), *Power of Positive Presence, Festschrift in Honour of Prof. Dr. Thomas Aykara CMI*, Dharmaram Publications, Bangalore 2014, pp. xvi + 536.

This book is "a collection of articles analyzing and synthesizing the orientations, patterns and ministries in Christian Life guided by studies on Christian faith and reflections on social life" (p. iv). In other words, it contains theology, and analyses various current issues in the light of Christian revelation and Church

teachings. It exposes Christian faith in today's context. It has forty-three articles, divided into four parts. There is a preface, a foreword and a list of contributors, but no subject or name index. The book is published in honour of Thomas Aykara CMI on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of his priestly ordination.

The editors state in the preface (p. x) that the arrangement of this book's content into four parts is thematically motivated, that is, each part has a general theme. Yet the general theme of any part is not immediately evident from the contents of that part. One may find that each part contains only some articles thematically connected to one another. It might have been better to divide the book into two parts: 1) articles on the personality and contributions of Fr. Aykara, and 2) studies on various subjects. The present division appears somewhat unnatural.

The first part brings out in detail Fr. Aykara's contributions, as a Catholic priest and a religious. It highlights the positive aspects of his personality. Some articles here are congratulatory. This part is helpful in reference to his life, activities and contributions. The articles recognize the presence of Fr. Aykara as a positive force in the community/society in which he has lived. They present him as an inspiring person, and introduce the major contributions which he has made as a leader and scholar. In this section, there are some articles on leadership, the profile of a Christian leader, etc. Fr. Aykara is presented as possessing many of the qualities, which a good Christian leader should possess. Although, now and then, the reader meets with words of adulation, the work is worth serious attention.

The article by Thomas Kollamparapil is the result of detailed research into the person and contributions of Fr. Aykara. While the author describes the contributions of Fr. Aykara, he takes special care to mention the name of those who collaborated with Aykara to achieve his objectives. This is a way of remembering gratefully the people who contributed to Fr. Aykara's achievements. The author deserves special praise for considering those persons. In addition, this method witnesses to the author's objectivity. Aykara's *curriculum vitae, studiorum et operum* at the end of the first chapter provides some useful information. There are, however, some factual errors in this article. For example, in 1995, the Syro-Malabar bishops' conference had already ceased to exist. Yet Kollamparapil uses the term "conference" to denote the body of the Syro-Malabar bishops (p. 30-1). Another example in the same article is the date of the beatification of Kuriakose Elias Chavara (there are two different dates on pp. 25 and 35, and both are wrong. The actual date is 8 February 1986). I fear that such factual errors, although minor, may create some slight diffidence in the reader regarding the data mentioned in the article.

The article by Alexander Paikada is also the result of a detailed study on the person and contributions of Fr. Aykara. He has succeeded in bringing out some of the nuances that the preceding articles have not. The author provides brief information on the context and history of some institutions and fields where Fr. Aykara worked, and that helps one better to grasp his contributions.

The presentation of Dharmaram Vidya Kshetram (DVK), a Pontifical Athenaeum in Bangalore, India, by Saju Chackalackal recalls its original purpose and mission, and the means adopted to accomplish that mission. From his article, one

can know the contributions of Fr. Aykara, which have placed it among one of the leading centres of priestly and human formation in India. It puts DVK curricular and extracurricular activities in relation to its mission. It is inspirational and informative for those involved in priestly-religious and human formation.

The concept of resonant leadership may be more applicable in civil society than in the Church, in so far as the Church is a community brought together by Jesus who sacrificed Himself out of love for others. He was a leader not because of his resonant leadership, but because of his self-emptying love for others. The sacrifice of Jesus declares that self-sacrificing leadership has an important role in the Church, where leadership may not necessarily always be resonant. The authors would have perfected their work had they highlighted this unique example of leadership in the Church.

According to the editors, the articles in the second part of the book deal with "Christian life and the power of positive presence in the inward formation and in the witnessing power of life" (p. x). This part begins with the article by Jose Nandhikkara who reviews the published version of Fr. Aykara's Oxford doctoral dissertation *Cosmic Consciousness: A Comparative Study on Teilhard de Chardin and Sri Aurobindo* (Bangalore 1997). By reading this article the reader can grasp the core theme and a general idea of Fr. Aykara's work. According to Nandhikkara, Fr. Aykara finds a synthesis between the cosmic visions of Teilhard de Chardin and Sri Aurobindo: "how a cosmic consciousness understood in terms of unity in multiplicity can help understand a lived theology and the dialogue of religions, a pluralistic theology and the idea of man as sacrament of God" (p. 132). Nandhikkara perceives an influence of this study on Fr. Aykara's life and outlook.

The English translation of the rules of the Recollects at Edapally, the first native religious institute in the Church of St. Thomas Christians, presented by Francis Thonipara, remains relevant today. Although their normative value is lost, they retain historical value. For those interested in the history of the Church in India, they are a primary source. The translation may need slight improvement in future publication, however.

Antony Puthenangady is an expert in priestly-religious formation. His article is "Formee-Centred Formation: A New Approach in Religious and Priestly Training." The author highlights the need to develop formation methods which focus on the person receiving formation (formee), rather than on the needs of institutions, laws, structures, etc. This idea is generally acceptable, but the title could lead to misunderstanding. "Formee-centred formation" does not mean that the "formee" can always remain what he is without forming himself to be involved in the needs and ways of the institute which he has joined. In the first part of the article, the author relies on findings from various social surveys conducted in the field of priestly-religious formation in India. The author seems to approach those findings uncritically. The first part of the article states that various surveys, conducted in seminaries and among priests, show that many seminarians and priests are unhappy with their decision to become priests. I have taken part in a few surveys myself. My experience is that, in many cases, the findings of social surveys can

be manipulated by the way questions are formulated. This manipulation can cast doubts on the findings of such surveys. Another difficulty with the findings of surveys is "absolutization," that is, considering the findings of a survey in isolation from other related factors. In answering, often the person questioned must choose between "yes" or "no." He has no freedom to point out various related factors which influence his answer. Placing the findings of a survey in the wider frame of all relevant factors will save us from "absolutizing" those findings, and understanding their *relative* value. In my opinion, this "relativity" is underplayed in the case of social surveys conducted in the area of priestly formation to which the author of this article refers. It is true that the Church is a human society; however, it has its uniqueness, just like any society. Sociological method is applicable to the Church as a society, but not always without adaptation. It is high time that a prestigious and trustworthy institution like DVK undertook a study on the method and objectivity of the survey questionnaires that are circulated, especially in Church circles. That would be a constructive step in the service of the Church.

The article by George Nedungatt is based on the statement of Kuriakose Elias Chavara that the Church in Malabar was barren during the Chaldean period. The author, after analysing certain areas of the Malabar Church like theology, spirituality, monasticism, historiography, etc., conforms to the statement of St. Chavara. He is aware that St. Chavara used the expression "barren" in a special historical context when the Malabar Church was under threat of falling into the schism of Rocos (Chaldean bishop who arrived in Malabar in 1860). Under those circumstances, in order to prevent the looming schism, it was necessary to communicate to the faithful that the Chaldean period did not (and thus would not) do any good to the Malabar Church. The author wants to stress that the potential of the Syro-Malabar Church was realized better under the native hierarchs.

The article by Jose Kuriedath on the role of Christians in public education in Kerala in the 19th and 20th centuries is very informative and provides useful resource material for anyone who is interested in the history of education in Kerala. As in many other areas, it was the Protestant Churches which took the initiative.

Paul Vithayathil presents the ancient St. Thomas Christians' theology and lifestyle as adapted to their socio-religious context. They did not resort to western ways of evangelization, namely, politically conquering a people and imposing on them the doctrines of the conquerors' religion. "Theirs [St Thomas Christians] is a theology of deep living faith of asceticism of ordinary Christians which was constantly interactive and dialogical with the people of other religious traditions which prompted the Indian Christians to recognise the positive elements in other religious-cultural traditions and imbibe many things from those traditions" (pp. 362-363).

This brief commentary on some of the articles has given an idea of the contents of this book. In addition to congratulations to Fr. Aykara, and reflections on his profile and activities, the book contains articles belonging to a wide range of topics such as theology, philosophy, spirituality, history, psychology, canon law, sociology, inter-religious dialogue, etc. Many articles analyse the present day socio-cultural problems in the light of theology, asking how Christian revelation and

Church teaching can contribute to their solution. In this way theology is applied in today's socio-cultural context. The book can attract a wide readership, because many readers can find some topic of their interest in it. Its most outstanding contribution is that it reminds its readers of Fr. Aykara's person and contributions, the values he upholds, and the way he has used his ability to serve others. Thus, it is not only a tribute to him, but, above all, a service to its readers.

S. Kokkaravalayil, S.J.

MICHELSON, David A., *The Practical Christology of Philoxenos of Mabbug*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2014, pp. xvi + 243.

David Michelson acknowledges in his introduction to this new monograph on the miaphysite bishop, theologian and controversialist, Philoxenos of Mabbug (d. 523), that he is building upon André de Halleux's magisterial dissertation on Philoxenos in 1963. No one can begin the study of this author — whose literary corpus is the largest of any Syriac writer — without utilizing de Halleux's groundwork, yet Michelson has achieved something more. Half a century's accumulation of research on Philoxenos needed to be assimilated and digested, but there were a number of areas which de Halleux did not consider or venture into, and that is where Michelson has ventured, giving the reader a richer and more subtle portrait of the bishop.

The introduction acquaints the reader with what has become known about Philoxenos in the last fifty years: new biographical details, episcopal maneuvers, rediscovered letters and treatises, as well as rehearsing his strident advocacy of the miaphysite/anti-Chalcedonian doctrinal and ecclesiastical positions. Michelson summarizes the key theological concepts espoused by Philoxenos, especially his distinctive perspective on "the Incarnation as becoming," focusing on John 1:14.

By pointing to Philoxenos' emphasis upon *praxis*, which epitomized his episcopacy more than his vaunted doctrinal controversies, Michelson unveils a more complex character and career. The manner in which Philoxenos functioned as a bishop, particularly during the brief period of miaphysite hegemony in the Antiochene see (512-518) with colleague Severus of Antioch, portrays a very different, flexible character from the adamant and unbending bishop perceived by many historians. Michelson details how both Severus and Philoxenos were pastorally sensitive in administering large regions that were devoid of untainted and competent clergy, and were remarkably lenient in allowing former Chalcedonian clergy to continue serving in their churches. Michelson distinguishes between crises of allegiance and of qualification: qualifications were of lesser concern as long as the individual demonstrated allegiance to the divine *oikonomia* of the church. The title of the chapter, "Ordaining Satan," a phrase directly taken from Philoxenos' correspondence, reflects the compromises he felt called to take as the means necessary to attain the goal of a unified church. Not all of his clergy were saints.

The central theological task for Philoxenos is how a human being pursues and

to some degree attains divine knowledge. Michelson discovered that in this pursuit Philoxenos relied more heavily upon patristic sources than previously considered — the Cappadocians for the unknowability of God; Ephrem and Cyril of Alexandria for Christology; Ephrem even more for his anti-speculative theology of wonder; and Evagrius Ponticus for the practical exercises of asceticism.

Philoxenos' familiarity with Evagrius has been long recognized, so Michelson disentangles the relationship which is both deeper and of a different shape than former scholarship understood. Michelson notes that Philoxenos mentioned Evagrius' name only once throughout his entire corpus, not in order to conceal his source, but that he understood Evagrius to be expressing a traditional Syriac ascetic spirituality of which Evagrius, he thought, was also an heir. Michelson describes extensively the characteristics of the Syriac translation and adaptation of Evagrius' works (usually entitled *S₁*), particularly the enigmatic *Kephalaia Gnostica* which survives only in Syriac. *S₁* is an apparent editing of Evagrius' works to remove the speculative theology of the desert father, and Philoxenos has adopted it as the orthodox version. While Philoxenos retained some of Evagrius' vocabulary regarding ascetical practices, he clearly rejected the kind of speculative theology for which Evagrius would become infamous — whether he was at all familiar with this speculative aspect is never clear.

Michelson turns to Philoxenos' interpretation of scripture, marked by the appearance of the so-called Philoxenian retranslation of the Peshitta New Testament (507/08). Philoxenos was concerned with the incorrect hermeneutic and understanding of scripture by dyophysites. In addition to his commissioning of this retranslation in order to excise dyophysite tendencies, Philoxenos' strategy was to employ the genre of biblical commentaries, which he would write on Matthew, Luke and John. This is ironic, Michelson observes, for Philoxenos found the commentaries of Theodore of Mopsuestia to be the medium for incorrect interpretation, commentaries which over time became renowned as much for Theodore's reputation as from the content of his commentaries. Michelson suggests that Philoxenos was trying to develop an alternative and correct version of this genre so as to divert readers away from Theodore's errors. Philoxenos' opposition to the Peshitta was more than translation choices, but also "faulty human interpretation masquerading as reliable translation," by which the original translators had introduced their own opinions into the sacred text. The Philoxenian version began a movement towards the literal "mirror-image" translation in which the Syriac imitated and echoed the Greek as far as possible, which Philoxenos had come to revere as the authentic and orthodox text.

The assumption that human knowledge is able to apprehend divine knowledge in scripture is an exercise of vainglory. Instead, Philoxenos insists that faith, simplicity and the fear of God are the keys to approaching the ineffable divine knowledge in the scriptures. Michelson epitomizes Philoxenos' assertion, shared with Ephrem and the Cappadocians, that it is enough to state only "that" a transmission of the mysteries is happening, not "how."

Another counter-intuitive suggestion by Philoxenos, Michelson indicates, is

found in his major "Letter to Patricius," in which he advises his reader and others not to read scripture too much. Reading small portions to guide contemplation is fine, but one needs to avoid exegesis and the theological controversy derived from intellectual debates over interpretation of passages.

Michelson follows Philoxenos' progression one step further as the bishop perceived the real dilemma regarding incorrect reading of scripture and incorrect doctrine is that it leads to incorrect worship, which then leads to blocking the activity of the Holy Spirit and ultimately access to God. The appropriate hermeneutic both for worship and for reading scripture is what Michelson terms in the mode of Ephrem "a theology of wonder," and is especially evident in one's perception of the Incarnation and Nativity. Worship for Philoxenos was the real normative for theology, as in the case of the Trisagion ("who was crucified for us"). Those who refused to sing were obviously afflicted by defective, if not heretical theology. Using liturgy to settle issues of Christology was considered superior to dyophysite theological reflection since it did not introduce sources outside of the church. Michelson summarizes Philoxenos' method in that he saw greater value in "what he took for granted rather than what he tried to prove." The denial of God and the Holy Spirit in dyophysite liturgy is understood by Philoxenos as evidence of allegiance towards Satan.

A significant insight of Michelson is that the agendas of Philoxenos' ascetical and doctrinal/polemical works are not as distinct from one another as previously thought. Philoxenos' longest and most copied work, the thirteen *Discourses* addressed to monks under his spiritual care, has usually been classified free of the doctrinal polemics of his letters. While Philoxenos did not make doctrinal concerns the central argument of the *Discourses*, there are numerous discussions regarding the folly of intellectual reflection and the role of wonder in the quest for divine knowledge in very similar ways to the diatribes in his more polemical works. His ascetical works demonstrate a thematic thread and principle of the "contest of the Spirit" which Philoxenos insists is the unceasing calling of the monk. Not to be engaged in the contest is not to advance and to be subject to complacency and the cunning of Satan.

Michelson concludes with the observation that the long-standing prejudice against miaphysites as non-Nicene can readily be seen as an invalid and inaccurate critique from Philoxenos' insistence upon the Nicene faith as a starting point of orthodoxy. His project established "practical Christology" — not focused solely upon the minutiae of doctrinal statements, but upon asceticism, liturgy, and as a consequence, right thinking.

Michelson gives no pretensions to having resolved all the issues concerning Philoxenos, his theology, biblical interpretation, ecclesiastical practices and policies. While he has taken the study of this formidable, although often maligned bishop into fields seldom considered or examined, Michelson assumes that these new approaches are simply opening forays into vast new territories. Numerous letters and small treatises of Philoxenos remain untranslated and therefore not fully

analyzed, possibly shielding scholarship from further insights into Philoxenos' innovations.

Now that it is clear how critical the writings of Evagrius were for Philoxenos as a source of authentic asceticism, there are still major questions — which 'Evagrius' did Philoxenos draw from and how distinctive were his ideas from other traditional Syriac ascetical and spiritual sources? An Evagrian commentary on Philoxenos' major works, or perhaps more accurately, a Philoxenian commentary on the reception of Evagrius is needed to comprehend how one author appropriated and made accessible the writings and concepts of an earlier author. A more thorough examination of how Philoxenos commented upon and exegeted scripture while insisting that commentaries and exegesis, and indeed too much reading of scripture, were harmful for one's soul would prove instructive regarding the inner workings of this hermeneutic of wonder.

It is because Michelson has opened the door into these previously unknown rooms in Philoxenos' thought and engagement that the opportunity is now available to enter and investigate more closely their contents.

R. A. Kitchen

PETRA, Basilio, *Divorzio e seconde nozze nella tradizione greca. Un'altra via*, Assisi 2014, pp. 205.

Professor Basilio Petrà (BP), a moral theologian and author of the famous and already classical books: *Il matrimonio può morire? Studi sulla pastorale dei divorziati risposati* (1996), and recently *Divorziati risposati e seconde nozze nella Chiesa. Una via di soluzione* (2012), is well known by readers interested in Orthodox moral theology, as well as in the comparison between the Eastern and Western traditions, especially in matrimonial and divorce issues. This monograph is the fruit of BP's long-standing studies and lectures.

To demonstrate the different character of the doctrine of indissolubility of marriage in the East and also the 'economic' foundation of Orthodox practice concerning divorce and second marriage, the author attentively studies the historical paths of the Greek tradition, especially in the first millennium.

The aim of this monograph is to explain that Orthodoxy is in fact the continuator of the form which Christianity took from the Greek tradition. The author achieves this goal by providing rich material for a more accurate understanding of the Greek tradition concerning divorce and second marriage from its origins until the fall of Constantinople (1453), because the whole of the later Orthodox practice depends on this tradition. The book consists of an introduction (pp. 5-7), four parts (pp. 9-169), a general conclusion (pp. 171-173), two appendices and a bibliography (pp. 197-202).

The first part of the book: 'Imperial legislation and nomokanonical literature' (pp. 9-44) establishes the 'secular' coordinates of the problem of divorce and sec-

ond marriage (digamy) beginning from legislation of the classical period, when Roman marital doctrine was formed.

The first Christian emperor of Rome, Constantine the Great, took up the role of 'bishop of those outside' (*episkopos ton ektos*), but he did not revoke the Roman secular legislation. In the Author's opinion 'in cases concerning marriage, in large measure, there is an evident effort of the emperors to combine realistic Roman wisdom with idealistic Christian tradition in order to create an objective riverbed for the development of the canonical activity of the Church itself' (p. 13; all quotes from the book translated by T.K.) There is an important conclusion that the *iustae causae* (the justified reasons) for divorce did not exist in classical period of the Roman law, but were determined by Christianity. After all, the influence of Christianity was gradual, because the divorce of *communi consensus* (consensual) was permitted even in the Christian Empire (cf. the Constitution of Emperor Anastasius, 497). BP shows the evolution of regulations concerning unilateral divorce (*repudium*) in legislation beginning from the time of Constantine the Great.

In the centre of the author's attention is the Emperor Justinian's legislation, his *Novellae*: *Novella* 22 (535) and especially 'the most important one', *Novella* 117 (*Ut liceat*, 542). In the time of Justinian 'the Christianization of the civil legislation concerning marriage, probably reached the highest level' (p. 31). The matter of *iustae causae* for unilateral divorce was determined; the distinction between *divortium bona gratia* (without punishment) and *divortium cum damno* (with punishment) — consolidated. Justinian's *Novella* 117 even introduced a prohibition of the consensual divorce, except for the case of choosing monastic life. Such a law overstepped all limits tolerated by the mentality of that period, hence his successor Justin II restored the effectiveness of a consensual divorce in the *Novella* 140.

In fact, only the codification of the Macedonian dynasty achieved the Christianization of marital law. The most significant is the *Novella* 89 of Leo VI the Wise, which established the necessity of a sacerdotal blessing for the legality of marriage and at the same time produced the inevitable change in divorce practice. This norm, concerning also second marriages, created a situation in which 'ecclesiastical authorities were also involved liturgically in the practice of divorce's recognition' (p. 35).

From the second half of the sixth century a new literary genre appeared: a nomokanonical collection, which contained both 'laws' and 'canons'. The most famous and the most important is the *Nomokanon of 14 Titles* which in Photios's edition (883) still remains the authoritative and fundamental collection of rules, the so-called 'canonical corpus of the Orthodox Churches'. Nomokanonical collections gave the clergy a practical instrument to execute their judicial power, which increased from the period of the Macedonian dynasty.

The Emperor Alexios I Komnenos in the *Novella* 27 (1086) conceded the marital cases to the ecclesiastical courts and from that time marital matter became the formal object of ecclesiastical jurisdiction. In BP's opinion it is better not to speak of the Church's submission to the emperors' authority, but rather the specific Byzantine achievement of harmony between laws and canons concerning the

marital question. A good example would be the formation of imperial law's collection in 60 books, the *Basilika*, in which some fragments of Justinian's legislation, incompatible with the Church's views were omitted. In the twelfth century Theodore Balsamon, in the spirit of 'purifying the legislation' organized the ecclesiastical canons, the *Nomokanon of 14 Titles* and the *Novellae* in conformity with the *Basilika*. This ultimate official codification of law in Byzantium was used by the *Hexabiblos* of Constantine Harmenopoulos and became binding law under the rule of the Ottomans and in the renewed State of Greece until the promulgation of the Civil Code in 1947.

The second and largest part is the real heart of the book (pp. 45-135). The brief historical introduction presents canons which belong to the *Nomokanon of 14 Titles* (883). The first chapter (pp. 51-66) deals with the *sacri canones*, which constitute the core of the whole canon law of the Orthodox Churches. At the beginning Petrà comments on the *Canons of the Apostles* 5, 17, 18 and 26 concerning the clergy as 'an exemplary group', which has 'the privilege or duty of absolute monogamy'. The author dedicates much of his explanation to the categorical and at the same time 'mysterious' can. 48, which seems to relate to abandonment of a wife without any reason. BP refers to G. Cereti, who connects this canon with can. 8 of the First Nicene Council.

Afterwards the author presents canons of the local synods of Ancyra (314), Neocaesarea (319), Gangra (*ca* 340), Laodicea (380) and Carthage (419). The author presents an interesting commentary on can. 19 of the synod of Ancyra, which penalized digamy in case of 'adultery (*moicheia*) of virgins breaking their vows of voluntary celibacy (death of bond). He comments as well on can. 20, which penalized adultery (*moicheia*) of spouses with seven years of penance. In the presentation of can. 1 of the synod of Laodicea the author refers to the polemics between H. Crouzel and G. Cereti on the question of the reception of Holy Communion by the *digamoi* (digamist, remarried), e.g. only widowers or at the same time divorcees. However, the canons of the western synod of Carthage were interpreted in the East in conformity with the '*porneia* exception', the fragment of *Pedalion* (translated by the author in Appendix II) underlining that those canons forbade contracting a second marriage in the case of *porneia*.

The only text of the First Nicene Council making reference to the question of second marriages is can. 8; it formed the conditions of reestablishing full communion with the Church for a group of heretics, i.e. the Cathars (Novatians). The author copiously quotes Cereti, who proposed a thesis that the term *digamoi* used in can. 8 described remarried widowers as well as divorcees, whose penance was accepted by Novatians. There is a fundamental question of whether the *digamoi* in order to begin their penance, were supposed to end the new relationship. The author concurs with Cereti, who considers that terminating the new relationship and returning to the first spouse would have been incompatible with the mentality of Christians of the time.

BP focuses on the Synod in Trullo, which is fundamental in determining the *corpus canonicum* of Orthodoxy. Many canons underline the exemplary charac-

ter of clerical life and in consequence forbid all forms of digamy. The revival of Christian life, which was the aim of this Synod, is also evident in can. 72, which encourages avoidance of dissolution of the marriage bond in the case of adultery, if only the unfaithful spouse would accept to remain in relation with the faithful one. The intention of stopping all practices that were too lenient in the Church of Constantinople is evident in can. 87 and 93, which strictly cite the canons of St. Basil.

The second chapter of this part of the book (pp. 67-135) presents an extensive panorama of the Eastern Fathers' texts as well as some of the main events in the history of the Church of Constantinople, especially in regards to relations between patriarchs and emperors, which until the tenth century formed the Greek practice concerning divorce and second marriages.

As a representative text from the second century, written in Greek, the author presents *The Shepherd* of Hermas, which introduced the possibility of the second penance. The 'Fourth Commandment' justified the practice of abandoning of an adulterous spouse in case of marriage contracted by two Christians. In this situation it also forbade a second marriage in order to give the adulterer a chance to do penance. BP suggests that Hermas knew the Matthean Exceptions. The author presents views of Justin the Martyr, Athenagoras and Theophilus of Antioch, which, according to the literary genre of apology, represented the sublime ideal, i.e. the moral superiority of Christians, who contract one marriage only (cf. Gen 2) and the specific rigor which condemned a second marriage (even in case of widowers) as 'decent adultery' or 'hidden adultery'.

However, two representatives of the Alexandrine milieu of the third century, Clemens and Origen, also presented the sublime ideal of monogamy, permitting a second marriage of widowers despite its imperfection. Origen's *Commentary on the Gospel of Matthew* holds great importance for the Greek tradition. It mentions that some bishops, in fact 'against Holy Scripture', in view of condescension (*sympieriphora*) for human weakness, permitted a second marriage for divorcees, while their former partner was still alive (cf. *Com. in Matt.* XIV, 23). Origen assumed that the polarization of ideal and reality in the Divine Economy justifies such a pastoral decision in order to avoid anything worse.

BP gives much more attention to the views of Cappadocian Fathers, especially Basil the Great, on account of the clarity of his testimony as well as its historical influence on the Greek tradition. Professor Petrà, using his previous article (*Basilio il Grande e le seconde nozze. Un tentativo di ricerca oltre le polemiche*, in *Studia Moralia* 28[1990], pp. 43-77), depicts in detail Basil's views on second marriages and his effort in mediation between a norm and the complexity of the reality of his time. The author analyses in detail *Rule 73* of the *Moralia* and the most important fragments of the *Letters* to Amphilochius of Iconium (the canons of St. Basil), which became a part of the *sacri canones* of the Orthodox Churches. The Author presents the fragments from the *Letters* and the famous *Orations* 37 and 39 by Gregory of Nazianzus, who underlined the imperfection of remarriages (the second marriage is just a concession, the third is already an illegality), but also took into consideration the weakness of human beings. In the *Life of Macrina* by Gregory of Nyssa,

BP notes an argument unusual at that time for supporting monogamy, i.e. 'one birth — one death — one husband'.

Petrà discusses also the point of view of St. John Chrysostom, who built his rich marital doctrine protecting the indissolubility of marriage on the basis of 1 Cor 7:2. Moreover, the author synthetically presents views of other writers from the fourth century, i.e. Timothy of Alexandria, Asterius of Amasea, Theodore of Mopsuestia and Epiphanius of Salamis. The opinion of Asterius, which is particularly interesting, states that 'adultery breaks the unity of spouses, even more than death'. BP also makes a brief reference to the controversial *Panarion* (*Haer.* 59) of Epiphanius of Salamis. Among the patristic testimonies of the fifth century, there are discussions of fragments from Isidore of Pelusium, Cyril of Alexandria, Theodoret of Cyrrhus. According to BP the interpretation of V. Pospishil of Cyril's position on divorce and second marriages is exaggerated; his principle: 'God measures his commandment according to the human nature' is applied by ecclesiastical authorities up to this day.

Discipulus Umbrensiū or *Penitential*, the Latin text written at the turn of the seventh and eighth centuries by Theodore of Canterbury, a Greek from Tarsus, educated in Athens, who was sent to England by pope Vitalian, contains references to the Greek practice, to Justinian's codification and explicit citations from the works of Basil the Great.

BP describes the Moechian schism (from *moicheia* 'adultery'), which arose in the eighth century in the Church of Constantinople as a result of opposition to the patriarch Tarasios' tolerance through so-called 'ecclesiastical economy' (*oikonomia*) for 'adulterous marriage' of Emperor Constantine VI. The author presents the fundamental differences between the two extreme positions of Patriarch Tarasios and Theodore the Studite concerning the form of celebration of the emperor's second marriage.

BP criticizes the 'exaggerated conclusion' of F. Delpini that the position of Patriarch Photios was in conformity with papal doctrine. Next the author discusses the origin and the course of the 'tetragamic conflict' i.e., the crisis at the turn of the ninth and tenth centuries concerning the fourth marriage of Emperor Leo the Wise. This example evidently shows that the patriarchs, in spite of some weak personalities among them, were not submissive to the imperial authority and the Church of Constantinople was not inclined to depart from its own tradition in order to please the emperor.

This second chapter concludes (pp. 129-135) with a synthetic description of the Greek point of view and at the same time criticism from Western authors. From the presented texts and historical events emerges 'the permanent core of the Greek point of view', which has never been negated (p. 129). This point of view is radically marked by understanding the Matthean Exceptions (Mt 5:32; 19:9) as real exceptions, allowing possibility of a second marriage after the adultery of a wife (and later also of a husband). The interpretation of Divine economy in Mt 5:32 and 19:9 oscillated between two poles: 'legal' (only one reason for divorce, indicated by the Lord, i.e. *porneia*) and 'exemplar' (other reasons by analogy with *porneia*).

The criticism from the side of Western authors E. Hamel and H. Crouzel can be summarized by the statement that Greeks misunderstand the Eastern Fathers, who would never recognize a real exception in case of *porneia*, but would remain in conformity with Latin Fathers, and would permit only a separation without possibility of a legal second marriage. BP admits that his own position is similar to that of G. Cereti, who claims that in the Hebrew culture, as well as in the Roman, the *repudium* implicated a possibility of remarriage. The author criticizes the position of P. Adnès, who claims that the 6th century in the East was the turning point in the history of indissolubility of marriage and that the Greek Church was solely dependent on the imperial authority.

In the third part of his book (pp. 137-158), BP presents the revival of interest in law in the eleventh century and the increasing role of the Church in the matter of marriage and divorce, which continued also under the rule of the Ottomans. In the 11th cent. Emperor Constantine IX Monomachos founded the school of law in Constantinople, which in the successive time educated such famous commentators as Alexios Aristenos and Theodore Balsamon. At the beginning of the 12th cent. the legal intervention of Emperor Alexios I Komnenos conceded competences in marital and divorce matters to the ecclesiastical courts. The Church of Constantinople opposed the uncontrolled and unjust application of the principle of free dissolution of marriage and established the practice that there was no divorce without a sentence of the ecclesiastical tribunal, regardless of the justified or unjustified reason.

Taking into consideration 'the Byzantine symphony' between Church and State, with time the ecclesiastical practice assimilated *iustae causae* for divorce recognized by imperial legislation. However, the ecclesiastical courts, in service of the Byzantine Empire and influenced by its secular legislation, still acted according to the principle of smaller evil and bigger personal good. BP, describing the jurisprudence of the Byzantine Church at the turn of the twelfth and the thirteenth centuries, presents two representative judges: Demetrios Chomatianos (or Chomatenos) and John Apokaukos.

The author enumerates the *iustae causae* for divorce in the Constantinopolitan milieu using the point of view of M. Jugie. From the eleventh century to 1453 there were nine reasons for divorce according to the Justinian's *Novella* 117; and later, in the time of the Turkocracy, five more were added. Such approach is typically Catholic, because the Orthodox authors recognize more reasons for divorce which partially coincide with some of the Catholic diriment impediments. The author also presents the more rigorous position derived from the principle of *akribeia*. In the *Pedalion* St. Nikodemos the Hagiorite (cf. Appendix II) allowed a divorce only in case of adultery, attempted murder of a spouse or heresy, and only the innocent spouse was permitted to enter a second marriage.

The jurisdiction conceded to the Church in the Byzantine Empire intensified under the rule of the Ottomans. According to the Ottoman practice every new patriarch became a leader of the *millet* — people of *Romanoi*, i.e. the Orthodox Christians. The patriarch had supreme ecclesiastical and political authority regarding

the Orthodox Christians and answered only before the Sultan. The procedure of divorce was within the competence of the ecclesiastical courts based on parallel canons and laws. In his *Pedalion* Nikodemos the Hagiorite reminded the ecclesiastical hierarchy of loyalty towards the Gospel and the Divine economy (only 'porneia exception'), so that the principle of indissolubility of marriage would not be weakened.

The fourth part of the monograph (pp. 159-169) describes the evolution of the liturgical celebration of second marriages of widowers as well as divorcees and gives us translations of two penitential prayers proper of the rite for digamists. BP's presentation of the historical development of the rite of second marriage is based on the works of two authors: K. Ritzer and A. Palmieri. In the first millennium there was no such thing as a special rite for celebrating a second marriage. Theodore the Studite attested in his letters that in Constantinople around the middle of the eighth century there was a practice of sacerdotal blessing for a second marriage and it was celebrated with the use of the crowns, however in a different way than the first marriage, the crowns were not put on heads, but only on shoulders. The ecclesiastical celebration of second marriages became widespread in the ninth century, beginning from Leo VI's *Novella* 89, which connected ecclesiastical and civil legality of marriage with the sacerdotal blessing. For a long time there was a clash of two tendencies: limitation of abuses according to the principle of *akribeia* and pastoral lenience (*oikonomia*) seeking liturgical solutions for remarriages. On the one hand, there was a belief that digamists not only could not be crowned during the ceremony, but also could not be blessed by priests. The Patriarch of Constantinople Sisinnios II (996-998), author of *Diataxis synodike peri deutergamias*, banned the religious rite of second marriage, even if one of the spouses was *agamos* (without a previous bond of marriage). On the other hand there was a gradual development of the rite of second marriage which permitted some kind of a more reserved blessing. The first specific prayer related to second marriages is preserved in the *Euchologion* from 1027 (Ms. Coislin 213). The prohibition of the crowning of digamists was present in the liturgical rubrics until the sixteenth century, but this does not mean that it was observed in practice. In the first printed *euchologion* the rite of marriage was preceded by rubrics containing canons which evidently explain that Constantinopolitan practice allowed the crowning of digamists, but at the same time gave the penance in the form of abstaining from the Holy Communion for two years. Finally, there are two proper prayers of the rite of second marriage. However the penitential character of these prayers, what the author underlines after A. Palmieri, is not related to the liturgical celebration of remarriage in its essence, but to the fact of weakness and inclination to sin of the human being, who could not manage on his own without the aim and support of a second marriage.

In the first appendix (pp. 175-184) the author synthetically presents the question of divorce and the Matthean Exceptions or Clauses, which were treated wider in his previous article (*Il caso di porneia in Mt 19: 9: interesse pratico-dottrinale e reinterpretazione dell'attestazione*, in Associazione Teologica Italiana, *Teologia dalla*

Scrittura. Attestazioni e interpretazioni, Milano 2011, pp. 259-279). Petrà quotes the philological analysis of R. B. Hays and C. Marucci, which questions the correctness of the 'rabbinic' interpretation of Bonsirven – Baltensweiler and the understanding of the word *porneia* as 'invalid marriage'. The term *porneia* means, in the wider sense, any form of unchastity on the side of a woman (Matthean context). In accord with C. Marucci, BP divides different interpretations of the Matthean Clauses into two groups, depending on whether they treat these clauses as apparent or authentic exceptions. The author underlines that for Orthodoxy the Matthean Clauses are real exceptions in case of adultery. The Eastern tradition does not question God's explicit will expressed in the commandment: 'therefore what God has joined together, let not man separate' (Mat 19:6), but unlike the Western tradition, treats it merely as a moral imperative, which in fact may not be observed or may be betrayed by sinner. The Catholic tradition underlines the fact that the bond of marriage remains also after separation, so it is still possible to commit adultery against the first spouse. According to BP, both traditions have a continuity and good support in the Holy Scripture, are both valuable and deserve to be observed.

The second appendix (pp. 184-195) contains two translations of the texts on divorce derived from the famous work *Pedalion* (1800) by St. Nikodemos the Hagiorite, which in Greek Orthodoxy is one of the most important collections of the *sacri canones* with commentary. The most valuable part of this work are the notes of Nikodemos, which are in fact real treatises. The first translation contains the *Canon of the Apostles* 48, a comment on this canon and a long note of Nikodemos, which reveals 'his clear view of divorce as evil, which may be permitted only exceptionally' (p. 185). The second text is a model document conceding canonical divorce which was placed at the end of *Pedalion* among many model letters corresponding to legal questions.

The best reason to study the monograph by Professor B. Petrà is the fact that author, a Catholic priest of Greek origin, 'breathes with two lungs of Church' both Eastern and Western. The author, bearing in mind a Western reader, explains many details, provides a large historical context for a better understanding and introduces the richness of the Greek tradition, which is an integral part of the heritage of the Undivided Church of the first millennium.

However, while reading this monograph, it is necessary to remember that the Greek point of view to questions concerning divorce and second marriages is not the only one and is not representative of the whole of Orthodoxy, because views of each Autocephaly differ in detail. The understanding of remarriage (precisely the second one) as sacrament in the Greek tradition, what is implied by the Rite of Crowning, has no equivalent in the Slavic tradition, which preserved the penitential rite for digamists without the imposition of the crowns.

B. Petrà reminds readers that the Greek practice does not ignore a human weakness but tries to avoid the 'greater evil' (cf. can. 26 of St. Basil). For that reason it is more advisable that the Church should allow the dissolution of marriage, as soon as the relationship is incurable, instead of forcing the parties to stay in the bond, at a point, that does not bring anything good. The practice of the Greek

Orthodox Church is based on 'the permanent core of the Greek point of view' radically marked by the Matthean Exceptions, continuously interpreted as authentic exceptions.

The specific relation between canons and laws in the Greek tradition oscillated between two poles: the 'Matthean *akribeia*' (only one reason for divorce, indicated by the Lord, i.e. *porneia* of a wife) and the pragmatism of imperial legislation (the possibility of consensual divorce). This 'structural oscillation' of the Greek point of view explains such a diversity of the *iustae causae* for divorce analogous to the case of *porneia*. A difference between Moses and the Lord Jesus is not radical in the Greek tradition, because in fact Moses acted according to the order of Divine economy in favour of woman's weakness in the time of the Old Testament (cf. pp. 172-173).

This study should also interest the Eastern reader who receives material strictly concentrated on the Greek tradition, while at the same time has an interesting comparative aspect, as one can follow the author in his explanations of Western attempts to understand the Eastern tradition.

A big advantage of this monograph lies in the discreet approach of the author, who emphasizes in the Introduction that his attitude is 'neither apologetic nor controversial, but only historical-cultural' (p. 6). This work of BP contains comprehensive information on the question of divorce and remarriage in light of canonic and patristic sources, Greek liturgical practice and theology. The study offers a valuable resource for anyone seeking to understand the origins of the Greek perspective on divorce and second marriage. It is a good base for further historical-comparative studies.

T. Kwiecień

POUCHET, Jean-Robert, *Vivre la communion dans l'Esprit Saint et dans l'Église. Études sur Basile de Césarée, réunies et présentées par Étienne Baudry* [Spiritualité Orientale 92], Abbaye de Bellefontaine, Bégrolles-en-Mauges (Maine-et-Loire) 2014, pp. 624.

Le bénédictin J.-R. Pouchet (1928-2012) a été parmi nos contemporains l'un des plus grands connaisseurs de Basile de Césarée. Tandis que son confrère J. Gribomont (1920-1968) s'est dédié surtout à l'œuvre ascétique de Basile, le père Pouchet a exploré particulièrement sa correspondance. On ne peut pas ne pas citer sa thèse de doctorat: *Basile de Césarée et son univers d'amis d'après sa correspondance. Une stratégie de communion*, Rome 1992. Entre temps, il a publié plusieurs articles autour de Basile, et l'idée de rassembler ces écrits en un volume est plus que louable. Il s'agit de dix-sept textes, dont la liste est donnée aux pp. 15-17 (en ordre chronologique) et aux pp. 32-33 (dans l'ordre de ce recueil).

Une première mise au point regarde la date de l'élection épiscopale de Basile et celle de sa mort. Laissant aux intéressés de s'informer des dossiers respectifs, venons-en aux conclusions: à l'avis du père Pouchet « on ne se trompera guère de beaucoup en plaçant l'élection épiscopale de Basile vers le 15 septembre 370 »

(p. 111). Quant à sa mort, elle doit être placée « vers la fin de septembre 378 » (p. 132), la date du 1^{er} janvier étant plutôt celle de sa commémoration liturgique. Pouchet place aussi, avec la majorité des spécialistes, les *Homélies* sur l'*Hexaéméron* au carême de 378 (p. 128). Quant aux deux homélies *Sur l'origine de l'homme* (SC 160), « il y a une forte probabilité en faveur de l'authenticité basilienne en ce qui concerne le *texte court* conservé par certains manuscrits » (p. 129, note 78). Et quant à la *Philocalie*, anthologie de textes d'Origène — qui d'ailleurs n'est pas le seul auteur cité —, le père Pouchet en attribue la rédaction à Grégoire de Nazianze et à Basile, malgré le scepticisme de certains (cf. p. 143). Pour les *Règles morales*, il suit l'avis de J. Gribomont, qui place leur compilation dans les années 358-60, tandis que leur publication a été plus tardive (vers 377), avec l'adjonction des *Prologues* (*Sur le jugement de Dieu*, *Sur la foi*, *Hypotypose d'ascèse*) (cf. p. 144, note 13 et pp. 208-209). Il paraît que l'édition critique du *corpus* ascétique de Basile soit prévue dans l'édition des « Sources Chrétiennes » (cf. p. 167). Le père Pouchet écrivait cette notice en 1992, mais depuis lors rien n'est encore paru. La doctrine ascétique et spirituelle de Basile peut être résumée en quelques mots-clés: le « souvenir de Dieu », l'« intimité divine », le « double amour » envers Dieu et le prochain, l'« obéissance à la parole du Christ toute entière », la recherche de la « communion ecclésiale » fondée non sur des visées humaines, mais uniquement sur cette parole.

Trois articles importants sont consacrés au traité *Sur le Saint-Esprit* (SC 17 bis), concernant « son milieu originel » (pp. 241-271), « sa structure et sa portée » (pp. 273-312), et enfin « sa réception » (pp. 313-337). Le père Pouchet se propose « d'écarter les obstacles à une exacte compréhension » de ce traité basilien, qui d'ailleurs se présente comme une « lettre » à Amphiloque d'Iconium (p. 245). Rappelons que cet écrit de l'année 375 est « l'un des premiers ouvrages classiques de la pneumatologie chrétienne, après les *Lettres à Sérapion*, publiés vers 357 par Athanase d'Alexandrie » (*ibid.*). Normalement, on pense que Basile visait dans ce traité son ancien maître spirituel Eustathe de Sébaste, avec qui il avait ensuite rompu, car celui-ci niait entre autres la pleine divinité de l'Esprit Saint. Sans sous-estimer le contraste avec Eustathe, le père Pouchet pense que Basile visait surtout encore Eunome, contre lequel il avait écrit au début de sa carrière théologique le *Contre Eunome* (361-363). La structure du traité *Sur le Saint-Esprit* correspond à la structure des deux doxologies trinitaires, celle qui emploie *et... et*, et celle qui utilise *avec...avec*. Pour Basile il s'agit toujours de formules de *coordination*, et ainsi « les débats sur le sens et la validité des prépositions doxologiques est la seule clef de lecture qui garantisse l'homogénéité de structure de tout l'ouvrage » (p. 278). Par conséquent, les témoignages des Pères présentés dans le dossier final « ne constituent pas du tout un appendice, mais une part importante de son argumentation » (p. 291). Quant à la portée théologique du traité, elle est fondamentale, puisqu'elle a été cautionnée par le concile de Constantinople I (381) et par celui de Calcédoine (451) comme l'un des apports majeurs à l'histoire des dogmes de l'Église ancienne (cf. p. 305).

En venant à la correspondance de Basile — qui se compose de 366 lettres —, le père Pouchet met en évidence « trois correspondants privilégiés », qui sont Eusèbe de Samosate, Amphiloque d'Iconium et Diodore de Tarse. Peu connu, car il n'a pas

laissé d'héritage littéraire, Eusèbe, évêque de Samosate (sur l'Euphrate, au nord de l'actuel Iraq) « fut surtout un homme d'action, un pasteur d'âmes, et des plus zélés, l'ami intime de Méléce d'Antioche, avant d'être exilé pour la foi et, finalement, de mourir martyr » (p. 343). Basile le considérait comme son « père spirituel », et parmi ses correspondants il « occupe une place absolument exceptionnelle, voir même unique sous le rapport des *Lettres* basiliennes qui nous sont parvenues » (p. 341). Le père Pouchet présente une traduction avec commentaire de la *Lettre* 27, la première en date, écrite en 368 (pp. 348-363). En outre, il voit dans Eusèbe de Samosate le destinataire d'une lettre importante, la 213, qui dans les manuscrits est restée anépigraphe (pp. 451-469). Elle « fut écrite [...] durant l'automne 375, pour renseigner Eusèbe [...] sur les intrigues de la Cour contre Basile » (p. 459).

Quant à l'énigme des *Lettres* 81 et 50, si l'on se fie au témoignage des manuscrits, elles sont adressées à un certain « Innocent évêque », mais cette dénomination ne résiste pas à la critique. L'auteur conclut : « l'*Ep.* 50 est une lettre adressée à Basile par Amphiloque, le futur évêque d'Iconium, tandis que l'*Ep.* 81 est une lettre de Basile à Faustinus d'Iconium » (p. 406).

Le chapitre 13, dédié aux rapports de Basile avec Diodore, un prêtre antiochien devenu évêque de Tarse, est particulièrement intéressant. Diodore est connu pour son *Commentaire sur les Psaumes* et pour son anti-allégorisme en exégèse. Or Basile, qui s'est toujours inspiré d'Origène, « dont l'exégèse lui est restée familière depuis les lointaines années de sa vie ascétique à Annési dans le Pont » (p. 303), dans ses *Homélies sur l'Hexaéméron* critique sévèrement de façon explicite la méthode allégorique (cf. p. 443). Ne serait-ce pas là l'indice d'une évolution dans la pratique exégétique de Basile sous l'influence de Diodore ? Le père Pouchet se prononce affirmativement. Du reste, dit-il, déjà « J. Gribomont avait observé une diminution de l'influence origénienne vers la fin de la carrière exégétique de Basile » (p. 431). Donc l'évêque de Césarée « a évolué dans son exégèse scripturaire sous l'influence d'Eusèbe d'Émèse et de Diodore », évolution « qui fut précipitée à la fois par l'expérience de la polémique avec Eustathe de Sébaste et par l'expérience des périls d'une allégorisation excessive » (p. 447). Comme preuve de cette influence, le père Pouchet porte le cas de Gn 1,2, où la *Septante* en parlant du *pneuma* utilise le verbe ἐπεφέρετο, que Basile interprète comme « incubant » les eaux, les « réchauffant », d'après l'explication d'un « sage syrien » qu'il ne nomme pas. Or selon le père Pouchet, ce sage serait Eusèbe d'Émèse, connu non pas directement, mais par l'intermédiation de Diodore (pp. 434-442). Sur l'attribution de cette interprétation à Eusèbe, presque tous les savants sont aujourd'hui d'accord [cf. L. Van Rompay, « L'informateur syrien de Basile de Césarée », *OCP* 58 (1992), pp. 245-251 ; cf. aussi J.A. Novotný, « Les fragments exégétiques sur les livres de l'AT d'Eusèbe d'Émèse », *OCP* 57 (1991), pp. 27-67] ; mais sur la pointe anti-allégorique interprétée comme prise de distance par rapport à Origène, il faudrait examiner mieux le contexte de l'*Hexaéméron*. Selon Jonathan Loopstra [« The Trouble with ἐπεφέρετο : Basil's *Hexaemeron* 2.6 in Context », *OCP* 76 (2010), pp. 145-160], la préoccupation de Basile serait de combattre la pneumatologie des Manichéens, des Valentiniens et d'autres gnostiques plutôt que de viser Origène.

Une dernière série de chapitres concerne l'ecclésiologie de Basile, un thème très

vaste et complexe. Au chapitre 17, le P. Pouchet examine sous cet angle les *Homélies sur les Psaumes*, qui appartiennent au début du ministère de Basile. Malheureusement, on ne dispose pas encore d'une édition critique de ces homélies, peut-être à cause du nombre considérable des manuscrits (plus de 150!). Restent encore à étudier les sources utilisées par Basile, mais « on ne peut nier une influence soit d'Origène, soit d'Eusèbe de Césarée » (p. 525). Selon J. Gribomont, « c'est surtout dans ces homélies que l'on rencontre Basile sous les traits d'un second Origène, quasi mystique; [...] il y offre de merveilleux exposés sur Dieu, sur le Christ, sur l'Église, sur les sacrements » (*ibid.*). Par contre, dans sa correspondance, on trouve un Basile plus combattif, mais son combat est « pour la paix des Églises » (ch. 15). Le P. Pouchet expose avec maîtrise l'importante de cet « oxymoron », ce paradoxe de « combattre pour la paix » : l'Église du IV^e siècle, déchirée surtout par l'hérésie arienne et pneumatomaque, en avait fort besoin.

Nous laissons pour la fin le ch. 16, qui examine « la personnalité de Basile à travers sa correspondance ». Le portrait qui en ressort est très riche et confirme le titre de « Grand » que la tradition a attribué à l'évêque de Césarée : « Humaniste, ascète chrétien, exégète, prédicateur, théologien, évêque, fondateur d'une cité-dispensaire, organisateur du monachisme, réformateur de la liturgie, promoteur de l'unité ecclésiale, voilà quelques titres qui s'efforcent de qualifier sa personnalité » (p. 518).

En conclusion, ce recueil d'articles est d'une grande valeur et pourrait aider à relancer l'attention, non seulement des savants, mais aussi du public, sur cette grande figure de Basile, le coryphée des Pères cappadociens. Évidemment, un recueil d'articles garde toujours un aspect fragmentaire, qu'on ne peut pas reprocher au père Pouchet. Il est possible, cependant, qu'il ait un peu « bénédictinisé » l'évêque de Césarée, en adoucissant les traits les plus rudes de sa personnalité : qu'on pense aux « lettres canoniques » avec leur discipline pénitentielle très sévère et au thème du « rigorisme » de saint Basile, thèmes à peine effleurés par le père Pouchet.

Au moment de sa mort en juin 2012, notre savant bénédictin a laissé inachevé un ouvrage de synthèse où il comptait rassembler tout ce que sa longue fréquentation des Cappadociens lui avait appris sur Grégoire de Nazianze : espérons que le public pourra un jour avoir accès, sous une forme ou sous une autre, à cet essai dû à l'un des meilleurs connaisseurs du cercle de Basile.

E. Cattaneo, S.J.

RUYSSEN, Georges H. (a cura di), *La disciplina della penitenza nelle Chiese orientali. Acts of the Symposium held at Pontifical Oriental Institute, Rome, 3-5 June 2011* [Kanonika 19], Pontificio Istituto Orientale, Rome 2013, pp. 399.

This book contains the Acts of the Symposium held at the Pontifical Oriental Institute, Rome. It is the second in the series of Symposia on sacramental discipline, the previous being *The Holy Eucharist in Eastern Canon Law* (Kanonika 16) by the same editor and published in the year 2010. Unlike Kanonika 16, the present

volume does not have the title in English together with the Italian one, though this book contains two of the entries in the English language.

The book contains fourteen articles in addition to the preface by the editor, the inaugural address by Michael Kuchera, the dean of the Faculty of Oriental Canon Law, and a list of abbreviations. Faithful to the title of the book, all the articles deal with various aspects of the Sacrament of Penance. Danilo Ceccarelli Morolli, in his presentation "The Sacrament of Penance in the *Sacri Canones* of the First Millennium: A Review of the Sources with Some Brief Notes on the Margin" (pp. 15-27), analyses the historico-juridical and theological evolution of this sacrament by looking into the first millennium sources like Didache, Apostolic Constitutions, Apostolic Canons and various councils, synods and commentators. The author highlights canon 6 of the Synod of Carthage (419) to show how in the first millennium the absolution of the sinner was reserved as far as possible to the bishops, with the possibility for the presbyters to receive this faculty by delegation. Commenting on Canon 102 of the Council in Trullo, the author also brings in the commentator Balsamon and on another occasion, he takes the help of the *Pedalion* (one of the famous eastern canonical sources) to show how this sacrament was understood in the East in the first millennium. This study also has found space to show how this sacramental discipline grew differently in the West, especially through Irish monks, and later through the canonical works like the *Decretum* of Burchard of Worms, the *Decretum* of Ivo of Chartes and the *Decretum* of Gratian. In short, it can be stated without doubt that this article gives the correct historical introduction to the study of the sacrament in question from an Eastern as well as Western perspective.

Orazio Condorelli in his study "From the Public Penance to the Private Penance, between the Latin West and the Byzantine Orient: A Comparison of the Journeys and Concepts" (pp. 29-87) goes deep into the historical evolution of the sacrament of penance in the East as well as in the West, with special focus on the theological understanding, patristic sources as well as Eastern commentators like Balsamon and Zonaras. This scholarly work has 168 footnotes in addition to a commented bibliography of eight pages, which makes it an essential reading to anyone who would like to make an in-depth research on this subject matter.

Paolo La Terra, in his short presentation "Cenni sulla disciplina penitentielle delle Chiese orientali cattoliche alla vigilia della codificazione moderna" (pp. 89-97), basing himself very much on Felice M. Cappello's *Tractatus canonico-moralis de sacramentis*, argues that the present sacramental discipline of CCEO is neither the result of the arbitrary decision of the legislator, nor is it in discontinuity with the ancient discipline (p. 89). This article deals with the following themes: 1. the minister of the sacrament of penance, 2. the form and language of the absolution, 3. the penitent, 4. the obligation to confess, 4. the place of confession, 5. the time of confession, 6. the vestments, and 7. the reserved cases.

In her article "The Sacrament of Penance in the Romanian Synods, *Fontes Iuris* for the *Codex Canonum Ecclesiarum Orientalium*" (pp. 99-112) Maria-Ionela Cristescu analyses all the canonical sources of the Romanian Church, with special reference to the Provincial Synod of Alba-Julia of 1872. Federico Marti, in his

"Inter-ritual Questions in the Administration of the Sacrament of Penance in the Previous Legislation" (pp. 113-141), has highlighted various problems that existed before the promulgation of CIC 1983 and CCEO 1990, especially in the context of the United States of America. This scholarly work gives a very interesting reading to see how in the Diaspora context of North America, the previous canonical legislation had to be harmonized taking into account the comparatively new reality of multi-ecclesial existence of the Catholic Church. Marti, who is the author of *I Rutheni negli Stati Uniti, Santa Sede e mobilità umana tra Ottocento e Novecento* (Giuffrè Editore, Milan 2009), and who has also written "La legislazione vigente sulla presenza di clero cattolico orientale nei territori dell'occidente," *Ius Ecclesiae* 23 (2011), pp. 605-626, proves through this article to be an expert whom the scholars cannot ignore on this topic.

This very valuable study is followed by Andreas Dobos' short article entitled "Penitenza e confessione nella storia e nella prassi delle Chiese antico-orientali" (pp. 143-152). This paper tries to explore in particular the sacramental discipline in the Assyrian, West Syrian, Armenian, Coptic and Ethiopian Churches. However, it is to be observed that the author has only the following material to offer regarding private confession and absolution in the Syro-Malabar Church: "According to some, the Malabarians have conserved it, others affirm that the Malabar Church has taken it from the Portuguese" (p. 144). In fact, there are various studies to prove with moral certainty that there was the practice of private confession among the St Thomas Christians of India before the arrival of the Portuguese. In this regard, F. Raulin, in *Historia ecclesiae Malabaricae cum synodo Diamperitana* (Rome 1745), cites Joseph the Indian, who travelled to Portugal in 1501.

Jobe Abbass, in his scholarly paper "A Legislative History of CCEO Canons 718-736 on Penance" (pp. 153-186), presents the history of codification of the canons on the Sacrament of Penance by analyzing various volumes of *Nuntia*. This study sheds adequate light on the evolution of the CCEO canons on the Sacrament of Penance and how they reached their present form. In fact, this work can be considered as a commentary on the canons of the Eastern Code on the Sacrament of Penance.

Michael J. Kuchera, in the paper entitled "Two Different Systems in Confessional Reservations *Reservatio Ratio Censurae* and *Reservatio Ratio Sui*" (pp. 187-202), highlights the fact that whereas there are reserved sins in the Eastern Code in three particular cases, in CIC 1983, in their place, there is also the reservation on account of censure. He observes that, in fact, in both codes we have almost the same disciplinary effect, though following different means thanks to the decision to be faithful to the authentic tradition as per the clarion call of *Orientalium Ecclesiarum*. However, it is to be noted that Kuchera does not enter into the discussion of legal questions that arise because of the presence of different systems of reservations that are found in CIC and CCEO. For example, when a Latin bishop gives a special faculty to remit a *latae sententiae* excommunication of a penitent who has procured a completed abortion to an oriental presbyter under his jurisdiction, does it automatically include the special faculty to absolve an oriental penitent who has committed the same offence/sin? This is an area where perhaps more discussions

are needed or perhaps even an authentic interpretation can be sought from the Pontifical Council for Legislative Texts. Or perhaps the issue can be better resolved by issuing an instruction by the Dicastery to all the Latin bishops, guiding them to formulate the special faculty to remit the penalty of *latae sententiae* excommunication due to abortion with the additional clause that the same faculty can be used to absolve the reserved sin in the same context.

Natale Loda, professor of Canon Law at Pontifical Lateran University, in his detailed study entitled “Le «Reservationes Absolutionis» *versus* (contro) le censure: Riflessioni comparative intorno all’efficacia dei due sistemi del diritto penale canonico e sacramentale del nuovo «Corpus Iuris Canonici»” (pp. 203-283), in fact, continues elaborately on the theme discussed by Professor Kuchera. As the length of this study indicates (eighty pages), Loda delves deeply into the subject matter and brings out many pertinent pastoral situations like an Oriental Catholic going to a Latin priest for absolution of the reserved sin and a Latin Catholic faithful going to an Oriental Catholic priest to confess his delict of having procured a completed abortion. He introduces the theme with the dictum “*Delictum est species peccati*” (Delict is a type of sin) and at the end the author sheds a lot of light on the subject matter. It is amazing to see that this study has 254 footnotes and references to many scores of canonists of various ages. Through this article, Loda proves once again that he is competent to deal with Eastern as well as Western Canon Law with much ease and competence. However, as mentioned above, there are still *questiones disputatae* in this area of canonical scholarship.

Pablo Gefaell from the Faculty of Canon Law at Holy Cross University in Rome, in his paper “Introduzione della «Reservatio Absolutionis» e cessazione automatica di essa (cc. 727, 729/CCEO)” (pp. 284-296), continues the discussion initiated by Michael Kuchera and Natale Loda on reserved sins. In this short study, the focal point is the automatic cessation of the reservation foreseen in the Eastern Code. He observes that in addition to the circumstances presented in CCEO c. 729, it is to be borne in mind that since the reservation is a limitation placed on the Christian faithful, it is to be interpreted strictly (CCEO c. 1500) and that in case of doubt of law, whether positive or negative, the reservation would cease. The author also looks into CIC 1917 to see how its norms were different from CCEO regarding the cessation of reservation.

Janusz Kowal, in his article, “The Cessation of the Reservation through «*Grave Paenitentis Incommodum*» (Can. 729, 2°/ CCEO)” (pp. 297-321), focuses on the cessation of the reservation due to the grave inconvenience that this may cause the penitent (CCEO c. 729, 2°). This is a well focused in-depth study having much use for canonists and confessors. In this context, an observation seems to be needed: Whether “the grave inconvenience” is to be interpreted “strictly” or “broadly” is the crux of the issue. The author analyses both the Eastern as well as the Western sources in this regard and highlights the opinion that it should be left to the prudent judgment of the confessor. It comes closer to the traditional rule of interpretation that *favorabilia amplianda et odiosa restringenda*. However, it seems that more clarity is needed regarding this subject especially because the system of reservation is something that the legislator willed and introduced with a purpose and hence

“the grave inconvenience” is to be understood as an exception from the law (CCEO c. 1500; CIC c. 18), and therefore it should be subject to strict interpretation. It is difficult to imagine that it acts like a privilege (cf. CCEO c. 1512, § 3). At most, it can be considered as coming closer to dispensation (cf. CCEO c. 1512, § 4). If the confessors tend to interpret this “grave inconvenience” in a more benign manner, then the very system of reservation may become obsolete.

Luigi Sabbarese, in his study “The Procedure to Be Followed in the Case of Sins and Censures Reserved to the Apostolic See with Special Reference to Latin-Oriental Confessions” (pp. 323-337), surveys the historical origin and development of the system of reservation to the Apostolic Penitentiary and thereafter presents the *praxis curiae* and the way this remission or censure or absolution of sin can be done through the confessor. The inter-ecclesial situations where care should be taken are also well illustrated in this very useful and well researched study.

Lorenzo Lorusso, in his presentation “Delicts Committed in the Celebration of the Sacrament of Penance: An Exegetical Commentary” (pp. 339-355), analyses the delicts of simulation (CCEO c. 1443), absolution of an accomplice (CCEO c. 1457), solicitation (CCEO c. 1458), violation of the sacramental seal (CCEO c. 1456 § 1), false denunciation of the confessor (CCEO c. 1454) and simony (CCEO c. 1461).

Péter Szabó, in the article “Inter-Ecclesial Co-ordination in the Administration of the Sacrament of Penance: Intra-Catholic Questions Arising from the Possible Deferring of Sacramental Absolution in the Oriental Law” (pp. 357-399), highlights the points to be borne in mind in the pastoral field because of the differences in the legislation in CCEO and CIC. This is a well documented elaborate study and hence an essential reading for every canonist and is of great use for the confessors who work in the context of faithful belonging to Churches *sui iuris*.

To conclude, it can be said without any hesitation that this book is a very useful one and contains excellent studies. It would have been useful, if the editor could include an index to this book. Apart from the certain observations and comments made at the end of the review of each article, on the side of improvement there is nothing more to suggest and therefore I wish wider readership for the book and further study on this very relevant theme.

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J. M. Pampara, C.M.I.

ST. SYMEON OF THESSALONIKA, *The Liturgical Commentaries*. Edited and translated by Steven Hawkes-Teeples [Studies and Texts 168], Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, Toronto 2011, pp. viii + 301.

The literary genre of liturgical commentaries explaining the Divine Liturgy was extremely popular and widespread in Byzantium. This makes the publication of a new edition of two of St. Symeon of Thessalonika's (d. 1429) commentaries by Steven Hawkes-Teeples, S.J., a welcome contribution to the field of liturgical studies and late Byzantine literature. The two commentaries comprising this edition are the “Explanation of the Divine Temple” (Ἑρμηνεία περὶ τοῦ θείου ναοῦ; abbreviated

by Hawkes-Teeple as E) and “On the Sacred Liturgy” (Περὶ τῆς ἱερᾶς λειτουργίας; abbreviated as L). Both texts describe and explain the rites of the Divine Liturgy, with each text making its own excursions and digressions from the liturgy’s principal prayers and actions. Although both texts are printed in the *Patrologia Graeca*, this new edition is based on Ms 23 from Zagora Public Library, Greece (abbreviated as Z and Z¹). The codex, written in characteristic fifteenth-century script, also includes some marginal notes believed to have been made by Symeon himself (abbreviated as Z²). Despite modern German (W. Gamber & K. Gamber, *Über die göttliche Mystagogie: eine Liturgieerklärung aus spätbyzantinischer Zeit*, Regensburg 1984), Polish (*O Świątyni Bożej*, trans. A. Maciejewska, Kraków 2007) and Greek (I. Phountoulis, *Ἡ Θεία εὐχαριστία. Εἰσηγήσεις, πορίσματα, ἱερατικοῦ συνέδριου τῆς ἱερᾶς μητροπόλεως Δράμας*, Drama 2003, pp. 194-371, from Ms Zagora 23) translations, Symeon’s mystagogies are still relatively unknown in the West.

This English translation of both commentaries of St. Symeon of Thessalonika (d. 1429) on the Byzantine Divine Liturgy or Eucharist (p. 1) will help to remedy this problem. The edition begins with a foreword by Robert F. Taft, S.J., the director of Hawkes-Teeple’s doctoral thesis, which the latter defended at the Pontifical Oriental Institute, Rome, in 1997. Taft’s foreword helpfully summarizes the genre of mystagogy for the reader, with examples from scriptural texts and the works of Origen, Theodore of Mopsuestia, and Germanus of Constantinople. Within this line of authors, Symeon is characterized as a reviver of “spiritualistic Alexandrine-type” liturgical mystagogy similar to Pseudo-Dionysius — his favourite and most frequently cited author — and Maximus Confessor (p. 8).

Next, Hawkes-Teeple’s fifty-two-page introduction provides a vivid description of Symeon’s obscure life (pp. 18-23), which helps to contextualize Symeon’s life and works. The author also provides a brief introduction to the liturgy Symeon describes in his commentaries (pp. 23-31), an introduction to the theology of the commentaries (pp. 31-56), and addresses technical issues related to critical text editions (pp. 56-67). Hawkes-Teeple also warns the reader of Symeon’s “rich catalogue of symbolism” that often obscures the essential structure and nature of the Divine Liturgy (p. 56) through his “stream-of-consciousness” narrative and “iconic” mystagogy (p. 25), which can be “jumbled,” “disjointed,” and “symbolically overloaded” (p. 50). Unfortunately, however, the author does little to elaborate on this assessment, failing to provide a satisfying analysis of Symeon’s liturgical theology.

The author does briefly venture to propose conclusions regarding the historical development of the liturgy on the basis of liturgical details provided by Symeon. Most notably, Hawkes-Teeple asserts that Symeon’s failure to mention something in the vesting and Prothesis stage of the liturgy “strongly suggests that it did not exist in his time” (p. 24). Regrettably, however, he does not substantiate this assessment with specific evidence.

Many more questions arise when one turns to the commentaries themselves. The footnotes and apparatus are helpful but are kept to a minimum. Questions concerning objects used in the liturgy or places within the temple, such as the doors of the iconostasis, chancel, curtains, or ambo (E 17-23), the details of the Prothesis rite, or other objects, such as communion spoons, are dealt with only

briefly. This is understandable, considering definitive studies of many of these, especially the Prothesis and Enarxis, are still desiderata. Symeon's citations of the text of the Divine Liturgy are cross-referenced with F. E. Brightman's, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, vol. 1: *Eastern Liturgies*, Oxford 1896, and the *Εὐχολόγιον τὸ μέγα*, ed. S. Zerbos, Venice 1862 [repr. Athens 1986], but more informative articles by liturgical scholars explaining these citations are often missing. This is especially noticeable in Hawkes-Teeples's treatment of Symeon's excursus on the consecration of the gifts (E 77-90). Lesser-known terms, such as *κατασάρκα*/"katasarka" (E 18), a linen altar cloth, and *πώματα*/"pomata" (E 33), the four "tablets" at the edges of the episcopal mandyas, are transliterated in the English text, but left unexplained. It is at points like these that more references to both classical and recent liturgiological and reference works would have made this edition more helpful.

For example, more recent Greek dictionaries, such as E. Trapp (et al., eds.), *Lexikon zur byzantinischen Gräzität besonders des 9.-12. Jahrhunderts*, Vienna 2001ss, would have facilitated further analysis of Symeon's text. For the symbolism Symeon applies to various parts of the church building in "Explanation of the Divine Temple," the reader would benefit from N. P. Conostas, "Symeon of Thessalonike and the Theology of the Icon Screen," in S. E. J. Gerstel (ed.), *Thresholds of the Sacred: Architectural, Art Historical, Liturgical, and Theological Perspectives on Religious Screens, East and West*, Washington D.C. 2006, pp. 163-183.

On the topic of vestments and vesting rites, which form a substantial part of the two commentaries (E 30-42 and L 9-29), there is also much more to be said both theologically and liturgically. In line with Symeon's overloaded application of symbolic meaning, vestments often represent several things at once. For example, the *phelonion* is at once the illumination of the Holy Spirit, the power of God that descended in the Word, and the sackcloth that Christ wore when he was mocked (E 38). Whether one image is more important than another for Symeon is not clear. What Symeon has to say about each vestment can be contextualized through other works, such as V. Larin's *The Byzantine Hierarchal Divine Liturgy in Arsenij Suxanov's Prokinitarij: Text, Translation, and Analysis of the Entrance Rites* [OCA 286], Rome 2010, pp. 199-239 [W. T. Woodfin, *The Embodied Icon: Liturgical Vestments and Sacramental Power in Byzantium* (Oxford Studies in Byzantium), Oxford 2012, was published a year after Hawkes-Teeples's book]. Larin's monograph provides more information on the history of each vestment and compares what liturgical commentators had to say about each one. The reader would also find Jesuit theologian and art historian J. Braun's monumental *Die liturgische Gewandung im Occident und Orient* (Freiburg im Breisgau 1907), Archimandrite Chrysostomos, *Orthodox Liturgical Dress* (Brookline 1981), and N. Schnabel, *Die liturgischen Gewänder und Insignien des Diakons, Presbyters und Bischofs in den Kirchen des byzantinischen Ritus* (Würzburg 2008), or even the *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, ed. A. Kazhdan et al. (New York 1991), helpful for detailed descriptions of, or commentary on, the individual vestments.

The Prothesis occupies most of "On the Sacred Liturgy" (L 30-34, 61-63, 79-90, 104-116) and Symeon's description is so detailed that Hawkes-Teeples considers it a diataxis, or a book of liturgical regulations, in its own right (p. 24). It would have

aided the reader to see how Symeon's descriptions compare with the rite actually described in a liturgical diataxis, for example the Diataxis of Patriarch Philotheos Kokkinos of Constantinople (ca. 1300-1377/1378). Surprisingly, Hawkes-Teeples does not mention this figure at all and barely mentions his influential Diataxis. Larin's above-mentioned study could also be consulted on this topic (OCA 286, pp. 137-145). Symeon's proscription that deacons perform the Prothesis (L 115) is certainly a reaction to this practice done elsewhere (cf. ms. *Vat. gr.* 2324). It is explicitly stated that the Prothesis rite sanctifies the Antidoron through the blessing of the bread with the lance and the utterance of divine words (E 104, L 160), and not through any contact with the consecrated gifts after the Anaphora, as is done in current Byzantine Rite usage. So central is the Prothesis for Symeon that he justifies the faithful's prostration before and veneration of the still unconsecrated gifts during the Great Entrance. Symeon sees the Gifts as already having been "offered to God in the prothesis" and already "antitypes of the Lord's body and blood" (E 65). Although Hawkes-Teeples mentions this passage in his introduction (p. 46), he makes no note of opposing views among other Hesychast commentators. For example, the near-contemporary Hesychast liturgical commentator, Nicholas Cabasilas (d. 1392), explicitly rejects such a practice, stating that anyone who prostrates themselves before the Gifts during the Great Entrance is "confusing this ceremony with that of the entry of the [Liturgy of the] Presanctified [Gifts], not recognizing the differences between them" [cf. Nicolas Cabasilas, *Explication de la divine liturgie, suivi de Explication des ornements sacrés et Explication des rites de la divine liturgie*, ed. and trans. S. Salaville (SC 4), Paris ²1967, p. 137 (chap. 24D)].

Since Symeon mentions the Liturgy of the Presanctified Gifts (PRES) and many of the developments in the Liturgies of Chrysostom and Basil he describes are related to PRES, the reader will have to turn to S. Alexopoulos, *The Presanctified Liturgy in the Byzantine Rite: A Comparative Analysis of its Origins, Evolution, and Structural Components* (Peeters, Leuven 2009), for further observations, insights, and conclusions regarding the Divine Liturgy at the time of Symeon.

Despite Hawkes-Teeples's note to the contrary, Symeon's citation of the Liturgy of St. James is faithful to known textual variants (E 71, p. 210 n. 54). This is confirmed by a comparison of the standard edition of the Liturgy of St. James [B.-Ch. Mercier, *La Liturgie de Saint Jacques. Édition critique du texte grec avec traduction latine* (PO 26.2), Paris 1946, p. 202] with a new edition of Sinaitic manuscripts of the same liturgy [A. K. Kazamias, *Ἡ Θεία Λειτουργία τοῦ Ἁγίου Ἰακώβου τοῦ Ἀδελφοθέου καὶ τὰ νέα σιναιτικά χειρόγραφα*, Thessalonike 2006, p. 192]. More interesting, perhaps, is Symeon's quotation of the Anaphora of Chrysostom, asking God to "send Your spirit upon me [ἐμέ; the presider] and upon the gifts offered [...]" (E 82), instead of "us" — the assembled Church. Symeon shows great concern over the worthiness of those offering the prosphora, of the danger of commemorating people who are "not living as fittingly as is possible for humans," and the worthiness of the priest "doing the sacred-service" (E 110).

A recurring theme for Symeon is his criticism of Western liturgical practices. For Symeon, any tradition that is not the "perfect, pure, correct, and unadulterated" tradition of Constantinople (L 74) — be it Roman or Armenian — is suspect

and needing correction. At the end of a long excursus on the consecration of the gifts by the invocation of the Holy Spirit versus the Words of Institution (E 77-90), he criticizes those who “blow” on the Gifts (E 90), which Hawkes-Teeple explains as Symeon’s misunderstanding of the Roman Catholic priest’s action of bending over the elements and emphasizing the aspiration of the first H in “Hoc est enim corpus meum” (p. 47). Symeon goes on to claim “[t]hey [the Latins] have corrupted everything into novelties. We, on the other hand, preserve the traditions we have received as the Savior has handed down through himself, the apostles and the fathers” (E 90). The anti-Latin polemics served their purpose, since E was sent to Crete and Thessalonike was under Venetian control after 1423 (p. 22-24).

Despite the above-mentioned shortfalls, this handsome edition with very accurate and complete internal cross-references and with very few typographical errors, will serve as a useful primary source for students of liturgy and Byzantine literature. Minor problems appear only in citations of pre-Revolutionary Russian works, where Hawkes-Teeple is inconsistent about old or new Russian orthography. This edition would have benefited greatly from expanded notes guiding the reader of the commentaries and the inclusion of the author’s analytical section of his doctoral thesis, which he did not incorporate into the edition of this book, but published one year later as an article in the *Bollettino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata* [S. Hawkes-Teeple, “Analysis of the Byzantine Divine Liturgy in the Commentaries of St. Symeon of Thessalonika in the History of the Byzantine Liturgy,” BBGG III, ser. 9 [2012], pp. 73-151]. In addition, Hawkes-Teeple has recently published an article on the state of research regarding the Prothesis rite (S. Hawkes-Teeple, “The Prothesis of the Byzantine Divine Liturgy: What Has Been Done and What Remains,” in *Rites and Rituals of the Christian East: Proceedings of the Fourth International Congress of the Society of Oriental Liturgy, Lebanon, 10-15 July, 2012*, eds. B. Groen, D. Galadza, N. Glibetic, G. Radle [Eastern Christian Studies 22], Leuven 2014, pp. 317-328). As Hawkes-Teeple himself notes (p. 48), further study and analysis of these commentaries, accompanied by a deeper liturgical contextualization, is certainly necessary, and also most welcome.

D. Galadza

WIDOK, Norbert, *Wiara – miłość – nadzieja. Studium w oparciu o Listy Ignacego z Antiochii* (Opolska Biblioteka Teologiczna, 123), Wydział Teologiczny Uniwersytetu Opolskiego, Opole 2011, pp. 216.

Fede, amore, speranza: uno studio terminologico delle Lettere di Sant’Ignazio d’Antiochia è l’argomento trattato dal Prof. Norbert Widok (NW) dell’Università di Opole in Polonia nel suo libro pubblicato nel 2011, ma soltanto ultimamente a noi pervenuto. Il titolo ci introduce direttamente all’argomento principale della ricerca dedicata alle tre virtù teologali, che sono un elemento centrale della dottrina cristiana come anche nell’insegnamento del Vescovo martire, tramandato attraverso le sette lettere dedicate alle comunità ecclesiali dell’Asia Minore. Sant’Ignazio scrisse queste lettere durante il viaggio che lo condusse a Roma, oramai sicuro di

dover là morire. Le sue lettere, dunque, spesso sono scritte frettolosamente, ma sempre con la grande consapevolezza della sua responsabilità personale sulla vita e sviluppo di queste giovani chiese locali. NW concorda sulla datazione tradizionale delle Lettere, avendo valutato la loro redazione probabilmente tra gli anni 110 e 120 d.C. (p. 12) [cf. E. Prinzivalli – M. Simonetti (edd.), *Seguendo Gesù. Testi cristiani delle origini*; t. 1, Borgoro Torinese 2010, p. 279]. Lo *status quaestionis* delle ricerche moderne su Sant'Ignazio è stato poi presentato nella parte introduttiva del libro ("Wprowadzenie", pp. 5-16).

L'Autore è consapevole che la sequenza delle virtù (ἀρεταί) nel titolo del libro potrebbe sorprendere in quanto differente dall'ordine adottato nella teologia contemporanea e nella catechesi tradizionale, basate invece sulle parole di San Paolo (1Cor 13,13). Questo cambiamento è il risultato di un'analisi della stessa corrispondenza di Sant'Ignazio e specialmente dei singoli passi dove compaiono i termini relativi. L'analisi preliminare del testo portò NW a constatare una difformità quantitativa nell'uso dei termini che si riferiscono a queste virtù da parte del vescovo di Antiochia. Nell'analisi dei testi particolari sono stati presi in considerazione le forme di sostantivi e verbi che specificano il contenuto lessicale di tre valori spirituali. Sono stati dunque esaminati: per quanto riguarda i termini di fede — il nome πίστις (usato 29 volte) e le forme del verbo πιστεύω (12 volte); per i termini di amore — il nome ἀγάπη (45 volte) con il verbo ἀγαπάω (17 volte); relativi alla speranza sono i termini ἐλπίς (10 volte) con le forme del verbo ἐλπίζω (4 volte; p. 14). In questa parte della sua ricerca NW si servì sia degli strumenti elettronici disponibili, sia della concordanza di Thompson e Baird [cf. J.D. Thompson & J.A. Baird, *A Critical Concordance to the Epistles of Saint Ignatius of Antioch*, Wooster (OH) 1997]. Il risultato dell'indagine suggerisce l'ordine specifico dello studio delle virtù particolari, cioè la fede in primo luogo, poi l'amore, e, infine, la speranza. L'esame di questi termini nei diversi contesti dove compaiono costituisce le tre parti successive del libro presente.

L'analisi filologica e teologica eseguita da NW documenta che tutte tre le virtù sono caratterizzate da tre identiche qualità connotative, dimostrandosi come un dono ("dar" in polacco), un carattere di perfezionamento ("doskonaląca sprawność"), e una forma d'azione ("czyn") che emerge mediante confessione, atto o stato d'animo, rispettivamente in ciascuna delle virtù. La prima categoria, che è il dono, indica l'origine di una virtù particolare: colui che la trasmette è sempre Gesù Cristo, come vera fonte di fede, di amore e di speranza. Come conseguenza della loro concessione scaturiscono gli altri doni spirituali, i benefici particolari derivanti dalla fede e dall'amore; NW nota poi che nel contesto della "speranza" Sant'Ignazio non menziona altri doni.

La seconda categoria che analizza a riguardo i doni di Dio è il carattere di perfezionamento che conduce i cristiani alla perfezione spirituale. Per raggiungere questa perfezione bisogna aprirsi volontariamente ai suoi doni e sottoporsi alla loro azione; ciò deriva dal fatto che la fede, l'amore e la speranza sono caratterizzate da una dinamica particolare che le rende visibili soltanto a coloro che sono disposti ad accettare le esigenze dei doni concessi. La scelta di questo particolare

modo di vivere è seguita, nell'anima di un cristiano, dall'intensificazione della fede e dell'amore, che cominciano a mostrare un'efficienza insolita. Ignazio d'Antiochia non parla di speranza in questo contesto, pertanto, per avere la fede forte e grande amore è necessario d'aver cura di essi per preservargli.

La terza categoria connotativa delle virtù teologiche, quella descritta da NW come "forma d'azione", si compie nella vita quotidiana dei cristiani in modi diversi. Per quanto riguarda la fede, i suoi atti si manifestano mediante una professione pubblica che, secondo il vescovo di Antiochia, si compie con la venerazione di Dio Uno e Trino e del Figlio dell'Uomo, che è Gesù Cristo, ossia nel credere nella grazia di Dio e nell'opera della sua redenzione. Le pratiche derivanti dalla fede del cristiano hanno la loro dimensione cultuale e si esprimono nel compimento diretto degli atti di culto, che la creatura offre al Creatore. In secondo luogo, il dono della fede che possiede un cristiano ha un grande valore anche per l'intera comunità ecclesistica. Se infatti, tutti i suoi membri sono pronti a professare la fede, vuol dire che essa li unisce e li rende compatti nell'azione, anche di fronte agli avversari e agli eretici. La fede perciò ha un potere particolare di formare la comunità.

Per quanto riguarda la virtù dell'amore, la terza categoria si riferisce al compimento di atti specifici, che è l'attuazione quotidiana del comandamento di amare Dio e il prossimo. Secondo Ignazio d'Antiochia l'amore nella vita cristiana possiede due campi d'azione: il primo si esprime nell'amore verso Dio Uno e Trino; con questo atteggiamento si realizzano le norme del comandamento dell'amore di Dio e le si esprime con l'amore verso la grazia di Dio e verso ciò che è santo, nel senso che tutte le realtà appartengono a Dio. Il secondo campo d'azione consiste nell'esercitare il comandamento dell'amore verso il prossimo, un atteggiamento profondamente cristiano, che distingue i seguaci di Gesù Cristo dagli altri. Le Lettere di Ignazio conservano numerose testimonianze di tale atteggiamento espresso nei rapporti interpersonali, sia all'interno di una comunità che tra le comunità diverse, così come nei rapporti tra Ignazio e i suoi destinatari. L'apertura agli altri, il rispetto per gli altri, l'atteggiamento pieno di comprensione dei loro bisogni sono le azioni specifiche che caratterizzano l'amore verso il prossimo.

La terza categoria descritta come "forma d'azione" in relazione alla virtù della "speranza" appare in modo diverso. La realizzazione di questa virtù nella vita quotidiana avviene nell'anima del cristiano, quindi, non è disponibile alla percezione visiva delle altre persone. Ciò consiste soprattutto nella persistente e paziente attesa del compimento degli atti di salvezza promessi da Gesù Cristo. La "speranza" nelle lettere di Ignazio sembra avere un duplice significato: un'aspettativa spirituale comune di tutti i membri della comunità rivolta a Gesù Cristo, e come una speranza individuale dell'autore delle Lettere, in attesa della manifestazione dei frutti per l'intervento divino nei destinatari.

Nel capitolo sulla speranza NW analizza alcuni titoli cristologici a essa legati. Infatti, Sant'Ignazio d'Antiochia, simile a San Paolo, usa con la parola "speranza" i seguenti titoli direttamente legati a Gesù Cristo: "La nostra speranza" (3 volte), "La nostra speranza comune" (2 volte), e una volta solo la "speranza comune" (pp. 157-165).

Per integrare il concetto di terminologia usata da Sant'Ignazio di Antiochia nell'aspetto delle virtù teologali, il libro di NW è stato fornito di un'appendice (pp. 181-188), dove è stata eseguita un'analisi filologica e teologica relativa ai tre termini affini che compaiono nelle lettere di Ignazio, cioè: ὁμολογέω (essere d'accordo, riconoscere, concordare, aderire, confessare) riferita alla fede; ἔρως (amore, la lussuria, il desiderio) e ἐράω (amare, desiderare) riferiti all'amore.

L'esame filologico e teologico dei termini che esprimono le tre virtù divine, permette all'Autore di dare uno sguardo approfondito sia sul pensiero di Ignazio d'Antiochia che sulla consapevolezza ecclesiale dei suoi destinatari, con riferimento all'aspetto della dottrina della chiesa antica e della morale cristiana nello stesso tempo. Le analisi di NW dimostrano quindi chiaramente l'uso di una terminologia molto sviluppata e matura, considerando che si tratta di un periodo primitivo nella storia del cristianesimo, di cui le testimonianze sono limitate. È vero che la riflessione teologica presentata da NW prende in considerazione l'aspetto aretologico di un rappresentante della vita cristiana nell'inizio del II secolo soltanto. Certamente, uno studio più ampio e dedicato ad altri autori paleocristiani, come Clemente o Erma per esempio, potrebbe dare un'immagine più completa, aiutando pure a rispondere a molte domande legate alla vita delle comunità cristiane sia nell'ambiente siro-antiocheno sia a Roma, ai crocevia delle civiltà giudaica e ellenistica. L'aspetto di continuità e discontinuità che fortemente segna tutta l'epoca postapostolica, pone la testimonianza d'Ignazio fondamentale, proprio come vescovo di Antiochia, infatti egli ereditò sia la tradizione di *ecclesia ex circumcissione* che l'apertura della chiesa al mondo ellenistico, testimoniata già nelle lettere paoline.

Nella parte conclusiva dello studio su fede, amore e speranza in Ignazio d'Antiochia, NW fa un paragone tra queste virtù e la dichiarazione del *Confiteor*, dove i cristiani confessano i peccati commessi "in pensiero, parole e azione". I singoli peccati provengono da tre ambiti dell'attività umana, ciascuno dei quali può essere assegnata una virtù teologale, in particolare più preciso il terzo aspetto della loro percezione, dove è messa la confessione, l'azione e lo stato d'animo. Così la "confessione", cioè l'espressione della fede con la bocca, tenendo presente il Dio Uno e Trino, dovrebbe sostituire ogni discorso peccaminoso; "l'azione", che attualizza il comandamento di amare Dio e il prossimo, dovrebbe prevenire ogni atto del peccato; mentre lo "stato d'animo", caratterizzato dall'attesa degli effetti degli atti salvifici di Gesù Cristo, dovrebbe ostacolare la formazione di ogni pensiero che provoca un peccato (p. 180).

Il libro è completato da una bibliografia ampia (pp. 191-202; in questa occasione forse non sarebbe male elencare gli studi in lingua polacca separatamente, ciò che, dall'altra parte, potrebbe creare problemi a chi controlla le note), e da un indice preciso delle referenze alle virtù teologali nelle Lettere di Sant'Ignazio, secondo il *textus receptus*, nell'edizione critica di P. Th. Camelot (Sources Chrétien-nes, 10bis), Paris 1998, e nella traduzione polacca di A. Świderkówna (Biblioteka Ojców Kościoła, 10), Kraków 1998.

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